H Great Britain & Ireland.

AN IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE GLORIOUS WAR,

FROM IT'S

Commencement to it's Concluſion;

CONTAINING

AN EXACT ACCOUNT

OF THE

Battles and Sea Engagements;

TOGETHER WITH

Other Remarkable Tranſactions,

IN

Europe, *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*:

WITH THE

CHARACTERS of thoſe wiſe and upright STATESMEN, who plann'd, and the illuſtrious HEROES, by whoſe Courage and Conduct, together with the unparallell'd Bravery of our LAND and SEA FORCES, GREAT-BRITAIN obtained a SERIES of VICTORIES, ſcarcely equalled in the Annals of this, or any other Nation.

WITH

REMARKS on the PEACE,

THE

STATE OF PARTIES WHEN IT WAS CONCLUDED,

AND

An ACCOUNT of the INHABITANTS, EXTENT, PRODUCT, TRADE and IMPORTANCE, of the Places ceded to GREAT-BRITAIN.

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Other Military Transactions,

IN

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WITH THE

CHARACTERS of the Generals and Admirals, by whose Conduct and Valour the Victories were obtained;

Shewing all Ranks, how to behave with the unparalleled Bravery of our Land and Sea Forces, WHEREBY BRITAIN obtained a Series of Victories, though engaged in the Assistance of her Allies, or any other Nation.

WITH

A PLAN for a GENERAL PEACE,

AND

The Terms on which it was CONCLUDED.

By an

Impartial Observer, Native, Protestant, and Free-holder of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

BRITISH MUSEUM

AN IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF THE

LATE GLORIOUS WAR.

THE occaſion of the *late War*, will be found to ariſe from a double diſpute between Great Britain and France, about the limits of Nova Scotia, and the encroachments of France on the Ohio; the forks of which river, by watering a large and fertile country, gave the French an idea of uniting Canada with Louiſiana, by a navigation of the intermediate lakes; a project too flattering to be overlooked by that reſtleſs and enterpriſing monarchy, and which, it ſeems probable, they had reſolved upon at the concluſion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

Though hoſtilities were firſt commenced againſt the infant colony of Nova Scotia, with an open ſeizure of Tobago, one of the Neutral Iſlands, or, more properly, one of ours; yet it ſhould ſeem only a fineſſe of the French policy, to try the temper of our miniſtry, while the encroachments on the back of Virginia were preparing, like a maſked battery, to open on a proper occaſion. This appeared afterwards to be their chief object, and the ſquabbles about Nova Scotia ſeem introduced in order to raiſe a duſt, and divert our attention from their grand ſcheme, namely, To diſtreſs our colonies in general, by having it in their power to attack the back ſettlements, and, in conjunction with the Indians, whom they were induſtriouſly ſeducing for that purpoſe, Puſh the Engliſh, as they inſolently gave out, into the ſea.

It will be ſufficient then to have hinted at the diſputes concerning Nova Scotia and Tobago, as the firſt was a natural conſequence of leaving things unſettled at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the latter was an attempt ſo bare-faced,

as to be diſavowed by France herſelf, and conſequently the iſland was evacuated. The other encroachments of France will open to us ſufficient matter both of narration and reflection, in relating the cruelty exerciſed by France on our back ſettlements, with the ſteps ſhe took to embroil us on the continent of Europe, till the formal declaration of war.

The attention of Britain was ſoon called off, from leſſer diſputes, to counteract thoſe avowed deſigns on the Ohio, which had been planned for near fifty years paſt, and now began to be put in execution, by the ſeizure of ſome Engliſh traders on that river, who were ſent priſoners by the way of Quebec to Old France. Upon which, the other traders, at that time, diſpers'd about the country, fled to the Indian towns for ſhelter; and theſe people taking part with their brethern, as they called the Engliſh, then in aliance with them, got together, and ſcouring the woods, took ſome French traders, by way of retaliation, whom they ſent to Penſylvania.

The Ohio, on the banks of which river this affair happened, riſes in Penſylvania, branching into ſeveral ſtreams, called, The Forks of the Ohio, and running a courſe of four hundred miles through Virginia, &c. falls into the Miſſiſippi, on the borders of North Carolina. It is neceſſary here to obſerve, that the French, before this attempt, had no communication with Canada, but by a long and dangerous navigation up the river St. Lawrence, which is open but one part of the year; and Canada extends a great way into the continent, contiguous to ſeveral lakes with navigable out-lets from one to the other, bordering on the back of the Britiſh ſettlements, by all which a trade is carried on with the Indians.

The French ſeem long to have had a deſign of uniting Canada to Louiſiana, as well to ſecure the trade with the Indians, as to have a more direct communication with Europe. To execute this project, they ſeized upon the whole country between the two colonies, and had begun to erect forts to ſecure their encroachments, which formed a chain of poſts on the back of our colonies, ſerving, at the ſame time to exclude us from all communication with the Indians. This project had, as we have obſerved, been long in forming; but the alarm was not given in earneſt, till the French had drawn the Iroquois, or five warlike Nations of Indians, to their intereſt; and then paſſing the Apalachean mountains, pretended a right to the weſtern confines of Penſylvania and Virginia. Now the Five Nations are the moſt conſiderable confederacy among the Indians, and, as conquerors of theſe parts, have their allies and tributaries.

tributaries. Theſe, by the treaty of Utrecht, are acknowledged, as allies to Britain; alſo by treaties made and renewed with them, his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects had a right to poſſeſs all the extent of country between Lake Erie and the Miſſiſippi.

In this track of land the fertile country on the Ohio is included, which, as it joins to Virginia, was attended to, ſo early as 1654, by colonel Wood, then reſiding at the Falls of John's river, who ſent proper perſons over the mountains to trade with the natives, and engage them in an alliance with the Engliſh; after this the French made a ſettlement in 1699, at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, and formed a deſign of uniting it with Canada, by means of the Ohio and other navigable waters. However, the Engliſh kept trading with the Indians unmoleſted, and in 1716, colonel Spotſwood, governor of Virginia, propoſed to eſtabliſh a company there, which was oppoſed in England. Notwithſtanding this, in 1725, the Ohio Indians came, of their own accord, to New-York and Albany, both to trade and renew their alliance with the Engliſh. This brought on a freſh attempt to revive Spotſwood's ſcheme; for in 1730, endeavours were not wanting to procure a grant from the crown of ſome lands on the Ohio, with a propoſal to ſettle a number of German proteſtants there, which was rejected; but in 1749, a grant being made of 600,000 acres to ſome London and Virginia Merchants, they aſſociated under the title of the Ohio company, and before the land was well laid out, in the ſpring of 1751, ſome of our traders were ſeiz'd, which the Indians on the ſpot, then in alliance with us, reſented, as before related.

However no act of hoſtility, on the part of England, had as yet taken place on account of the capture of our traders; It was with difficulty they were diſcharged by remonſtrances at the court of France, though without any indemnification for the loſs of their ſubſtance and liberty; but the French had now taken off the maſk, and proceeding to ſeize the whole country in queſtion, they ſent out ſeveral detachments, and a large body of troops under the command of St. Pierre, which encamped on the ſouth of Lake Erie; but their deſigns were check'd, for this ſeaſon, by the death of M. de Jonquire, governer of Canada.

The marquis Du Queſne, his ſucceſſor, ſoon after his arrival, put the troops in motion, and gave early indications of an enterprizing ſpirit. The forts bordering on the Engliſh territories, and thoſe actually erected on them, were ſupplied with ammunition, and conſiderably reinforced; the detachments were

ſtrengthened, and St. Pierre had orders to take winter-quarters where he was encamped; upon which he built a fort there, and another on Beef-river, being a fork or branch of the Ohio, and navigable within fifteen miles of lake Erie. By theſe two forts, and that at Niagara, to which new works were added, together with another new fort erected at the conflux of the Ohio and Wabache rivers, the French compleated their deſign of forming a comunication between Louiſiana and Canada: By theſe means they were enabled to tranſport ſtores, travel, &c. by water between both colonies, except for a few miles by land, to avoid the great water-falls at Niagara, and for 15 miles from the fort on Beef-river to the fort on Erie; and alſo a trifling interruption to avoid the Falls, or ripling ſtreams in the Ohio and St. Lawrence. Theſe are often called the Rapids; thoſe ſhort paſſages by land, Carrying-places; and give a ſtriking idea of the advantageous ſituation of this tract, on account of trade, excluſive of its natural fertility. The French had long envied us ſo valuable a poſſeſſion, and now bid fair to extirpate the Engliſh, who had too much neglected ſo great an advantage.

As ſoon as the governor of Penſylvania was informed of theſe proceedings, he laid a propoſal before the aſſembly, to erect houſes, which might ſerve both to truck with the Indians, and occaſionally, as forts for ſecurity of the traders. This was approved of, and money granted for that purpoſe; but the pacific diſpoſition of that colony, rendered it ineffectual, and the French continued their plan without interruption, till the governor of Virginia began to be ſeriouſly concerned, and in Oct. 1753, wrote to St. Pierre, complaining of hoſtilities, and requiring a reaſon why the French had invaded a territory undoubtedly belonging to Great-Britain. St. Pierre was then at the new fort on Beef-river; and in his anſwer to the governor, by major Waſhington, refers him to the governor of Canada, under whoſe authority he acted, and talks of the king his maſter's pretenſions, with an aſſurance entirely French. The governor, that no time might be loſt, complained inſtantly to the Britiſh miniſtry. In the mean time, he endeavoured by animating ſpeeches, to ſpirit up the Virginians, from a ſenſe of their imminent danger, to a vigorous oppoſition. He wrote for aid from the neighbouring colonies, and propoſed to erect a fort at the conjunction of the Ohio and Monangahela rivers. In order to this, meaſures ſhould have been taken directly; but it was a work of time to unite the colonies in one general intereſt; and the ravages (perhaps ſome of that miſconduct too which followed) were only ſufficient to effect this.

The

The Virginians were in earneſt, as indeed neareſt the invaders; and New-York generouſly voted them aſſiſtance, while the French kept ſtrengthening themſelves; and complaints being frequently ſent to London, orders were diſpatched for all the provinces to repel force by force, but to confine their operations to indiſputed Britiſh territory. The governor, who never queſtion'd the Ohio lands, being Britiſh territory, went on to erect a fort to cover the frontiers, and the works were begun; but the governor of Canada ſent M. Coatracœur, who had taken the command of Beef-river, to oppoſe the deſign. That officer ſet out with 1000 men and ſome cannon, and advanced to Logg's-town, which he deſtroyed, with the block, and trucking houſes, whereby the colonies ſuſtain'd conſiderable damage. He proceeded to the river, where he diſlodged captain Trent, with a few men; a little further he found the traces of a fort, and ſome works begun, which on their approach were deſerted.

Here he encamped, and finding the ſituation well choſen, finiſhed the fort, which was called Du Queſne, in honour of the governor of Canada; In the mean time, orders came for the Britiſh governors to form a general confederacy againſt the enemy, to which every province might contribute a ſettled quota, or ſhare of men, money, &c. The governor of New-York was directed to hold a conference with the chiefs of the Iroquois, and to endeavour fixing them in our intereſt; a conſiderable ſum being ordered by his majeſty to be laid out for that purpoſe. Though this ſcheme of a political union was greatly to be deſired, it required ſome time, and no little addreſs, to reconcile ſo many claſhing intereſts. Thoſe who were remote from the territory in diſpute, reckoned themſelves ſecure from the number and populouſneſs of the colonies, and expected ſuccours from the mother-country, before the invaders ſhould reach them. It was neceſſary that the Penſylvanians ſhould be among the firſt to concert vigorous meaſures, as the French threatened to come down on them next, and the Indians were already in motion; but the diſpoſition of that people was too paſſive. The quakers, who are much the greateſt part of the inhabitants, claimed a ſhare of the government, while their principles, as well civil as religious, deprived thoſe who were governed, of protection; but the Indian ſcalping-parties ſoon made them recede from theſe principles. The governor of New-York met the Indians at Albany, as it had been appointed, but little was done; though deputies from all the provinces were preſent, but few Indians appeared, and thoſe took the preſents indeed, but were much upon the reſerve. The

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truth is, their national character was not attended to, which it may be proper here to touch upon.

The Indians, in this part of America, ſettled upon the lakes and navigable rivers, ſubſiſt chiefly by hunting, which makes them able to endure great hardſhips, and undertake long journies. Their trade is chiefly in furrs and deer ſkins, for which they procure fire-arms, ammunition and cutlery ware, coarſe blankets, and, of late, ſpirituous liquors; to which they are much addicted. As they are little concern'd for a future ſubſiſtence, they raiſe juſt as much corn as may ſerve for preſent uſe, and even leave this employment to the women; ſo that the colonies often ſupply them with proviſions, which makes the Indians fond of renewing their alliances, even when their ſincerity may juſtly be queſtioned, for the ſake of theſe gifts they are accuſtomed to receive. It is not poſſible to break through the formalities which they have laid down in a treaty; and to be ſucceſsful, it is neceſſary to adopt their manner. This the French had done with great addreſs, and had inticed moſt of the Iroquois from our intereſt to theirs. They had held forth, in oppoſition to the moderate, or perhaps rather reſerved, temper of our people, an idea of the grandeur and warlike preparations of France; which they ſeem'd to make good by troops every where in motion, ſeizing the Carrying-places, and fortifying them. The Indians knew the importance of theſe poſts, and conſidered the French as able warriors, a character of all others reſpected by the ſavages.

It is no wonder France had been before us in this caſe. It required no more than to play off that ſpirit of intrigue, for which ſhe is ſo remarkable. By theſe means the Indians were prepoſſeſſed in her favour and little was done, at that time, on our part to undeceive them

However, the proximity of the Virginians cauſed them to exert themſelves. They ſent three hundred men under colonel Waſhington to the Great Meadows, on the Ohio. Being on his march he was attacked by a detachment under M. de Jumonville, whom he totally defeated with the loſs of their commander. Soon after, being joined by captain Trent he began to erect a fort at the Great Meadows, which he called, properly enough, Fort-Neceſſity. Before it was compleated Contracoeur ſent Monſieur Villiers, brother to Jumonville, with nine hundred regulars and two hundred Indians, to diſlodge the colonel before he could be reinforced from New-York, which he was expecting, as the time for the arrival of a body of forces was expired.

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M. de Villiers attacked Fort neceſſity on the 3d of July, 1754, and after a ſmart fire, which laſted three hours, obliged the colonel, by his great ſuperiority, to ſurrender upon honourable conditions. The Engliſh loſt about forty men, but the French concealed the number of theirs. It appeared they were aſſiſted by a body of Indians, who had been in alliance with the Engliſh, the conſequences of which were alarming indeed to the colonies; for the Engliſh, truſting to an honourable capitulation, were ſet upon in their retreat by the ſavages, who plundered their baggage, killing and ſcalping without mercy. Thus far the French were ſucceſsful, and the Indians, from the hope of plunder, fixed in their intereſt; while the provinces lay open to farther inſults, diſagreeing with one another, and their enemies availing themſelves of ſuch miſconduct, to fortify a territory, undoubtedly Britiſh.

Soon after this affair was known at the court of London, ſtrong remonſtrances were made to that of France, but to little effect. The Engliſh miniſtry hoped to terminate theſe diſputes by a negotiation. Averſe to war, and unſettled by the death of Mr. Pelham, with the introduction of Mr. Pitt, and others into the adminiſtration, of whom they were jealous, and conſcious that a war might call forth to public view their ſuperior abilities. But in vain did they oppoſe the ſenſe of an exaſperated nation; people in general conſidered a war as unavoidable.

During the congreſs at Albany, governor Shirley proceeded to the river Kennebec, in New England, and erected forts at convenient places, to ſtop the enemies progreſs on that ſide, as they were in danger of a viſit from Crown-point.

He had, in this ſervice, one thouſand men, and did his endeavour to cultivate a friendſhip with the eaſtern Indians. The remainder of this year was ſpent in remonſtrances from the colonies, and ineffectual application for juſtice to the court of France.

Early in the year 1755, the French had a ſtrong fleet, and a number of tranſports, getting ready for America. Notwithſtanding theſe open avowals of their intention, to keep their encroachments at any rate, yet did the French miniſtry poſitively aſſert, that no hoſtilities were intended: Of this their ambaſſador, Mirepoix, ſeemed poſitive; and if his behaviour was not the effect of a concerted policy, he might be ſaid to labour, in conjunction with our miniſtry, for an accommodation. The preparations at laſt were ſo notorious, that he was taxed with inſincerity, and complained of being

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imposed on by his own court. He went over to expostulate with the French ministry; they referr'd him to the king, who sent him back with fresh assurances of friendship: All this looked too like a political farce; for he had hardly arrived at St. James's, before notice came, which might be depended on, that a French fleet was ready to sail from Brest to Rochfort, with a number of land forces. Upon which the alarm was taken, a warm press ensued, eleven ships of the line, and one frigate, with six thousand men on board, besides guard ships and cruizers, were fitted out for the defence of our coasts. These sailed under admiral Boscawen, on the 23d of April; but it was now known, that twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with plenty of warlike stores, and between three and four thousand men, were ready to sail from Brest under Macnamara. Upon this, admiral Holbourn was ordered to join Boscawen with six ships of the line and one frigate; a number of ships were put in commission, and something like resentment began to appear. It was the sixth of May when Macnamara sailed, but he soon returned with nine of his largest ships; the rest kept on their course to America, under the command of M. de la Mothe.

The people of England were under no little concern for the squadrons under Boscawen and Holbourn, as they might be attacked with advantage separately; but the enemy was not to seek them, their proper business being to make good their encroachments, and to strengthen their colonies. In the mean time, all Europe was in suspence about the fate of both squadrons. The preparations for war in England went vigorously on; but the French court hoped that hostilities would be forborn, out of tenderness to Hanover, which his majesty had thoughts of visiting soon. Mirepoix affected still to talk peaceably, and it was made no secret of to him, that admiral Boscawen had orders to fall upon the French ships. On which he made a declaration in his master's name, *That the first gun which was fired should kindle all Europe into a flame.* This was the master-stroke of their policy; and doubtless his majesty had some struggles. A war was in a manner begun, in which, though Hanover had no concern, it might possibly be the greatest sufferer. The event was uncertain. The king was now arrived at an age, when business and hurry were far from being desireable, especially in the time it took from the irresolution of an unsettled [illegible]; but he magnanimously resolved to expose his dominions

nions in Germany, rather than give up our rights in America, where the conduct of France had made reprizals neceſſary. Admiral Boſcawen had orders to commence hoſtilities. He had a ſafe paſſage to Newfoundland, where his ſtation was appointed. In a few days, M. de la Mothe, with this fleet arrived at the Banks; but the thick fogs, which are uſual there prevented the ſquadrons from ſeeing each other. When the French were informed that the Engliſh expected them, a part of the ſquadron, and moſt of the troops, with baron Dieſkau, made the beſt of their way up the river St. Lawrence: Another part eſcaped through the Straits of Belliſle, not without imminent danger: A third, which was ſeparated in the fogs, fell in with the Engliſh fleet off Cape Race, on the tenth of June.

Theſe were the Lys and the Alcide, ſixty-four-gun-ſhips, bnt the Lys mounted only twenty two; a third eſcaped. Captain, now lord How, in the Dunkirk, and captain Andrews, in the Defiance, bore down upon them, when the Alcide hailed the Dunkirk with, *What Admiral? Admiral Boſcawen*, replied the Engliſhman; ſays the Frenchman in return, *I know admiral Boſcawen, he is a friend of mine.* —— *You, ſir*, returned captain Howe, *What is your name? Hoquart*, ſaid the Frenchman. This was all the ceremony; for the flag being diſputed, the Dunkirk fired, and the engagement began; when after a ſharp conteſt, yard-arm and yard-arm, both ſhips were taken, with eight companies of land forces on board, and eight thouſand pounds for the payment of the troops. It is ſaid, that the ſhips fought ſo near, that a man killed on the French yard-arm, fell on board the Engliſh, and that mr. Hoquart, had the misfortune of being twice before a priſoner to admiral Boſcawen.

At the beginning of this year, general Braddock had been ſent to America with ſome troops, to command in chief. He had orders to attack fort Due Queſne, and drive the French from the Ohio. For this purpoſe he aſſembled two thouſand two hundred men at fort Cumberland, about one hundred and thirty miles from fort Du Queſne. He began to move forward on the 10th of June, leaving the garriſon under the command of colonel Innes. There were great difficulties to ſurmount in a country rugged and unknown, acroſs the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and narrow paſſages. They proceeded from a place called the Little Meadows, in two diviſions; at the head of the firſt, conſiſting of one thouſand four hundred men, was the general, with moſt of the ammucition and cannon; the ſecond, with proviſions, ſtores

and baggage, was led by colonel Dunbar. The unhappy general was too confident of ſucceſs; being informed, at the Great Meadows, that the enemy expected to be reinforced with five hundred regulars, he puſhed on with ſuch diſpatch, that he greatly fatigued the ſoldiers, tired the horſes, and left the rear diviſion forty miles behind. The French, conſiſting of about two hundred at their ſort on the Ohio, gave no obſtruction to this march till the ninth of July; when about noon, our troops paſſed the Monangahela, being then diſtant ſeven miles from fort Du Queſne. Not dreaming of an enemy, at once the alarm was given by a quick and heavy fire upon the van-guard, under lieutenant-colonel Gage. Immediately the main body advanced, in good order and ſpirits to ſuſtain them. Orders were then given to halt and form into battalions. At this juncture the van falling back in confuſion, a general panic took place, and all endeavours to rally the ſoldiers were ineffectual. The general and officers exerted themſelves to no purpoſe; neither entreaties nor threatnings could avail. In this confuſion, they fired at random, and wounded thoſe parties, which were advanced for the recovery of the cannon. This diſorder continued for three hours, though there was not an enemy to be ſeen. A retreat was now ſounded, that the waggons might be preſerved; theſe were ſurrounded for this purpoſe; but the enemies fire being again renewed on the front, and left flank, the whole army took to flight, leaving behind them the artillery, proviſions, baggage, and military cheſt, together with the general's cabinet, containing his papers, military inſtructions, &c. So great was the panic, that it was impoſſible to ſtop the ſoldiers, flying in the utmoſt diſorder, for three miles from the place of action, where about one hundred began to make a more regular retreat. The enemy's ſtrength was never known with certainty; and it is doubtful, if any of them were killed; for few were ſeen by our men, being covered by ſtumps and fell'd trees: but great was the ſlaughter of our people, and many officers ſacrificed their lives, expoſing themſelves bravely; thoſe of higheſt rank ſuffered moſt. The general, after having five horſes ſhot under him, received a wound in the right arm and lungs, of which he died in four days. His ſecretary, eldeſt ſon of major general Shirley, a gentleman of great hopes, was killed on the ſpot by a ſhot thro' the head. Colonel Sir Peter Halket was killed, and ſeveral gallant officers. The loſs was eſtimated at 700 killed and wounded; about a third of the whole army.

To what cauſe this defeat was owing, is in part ſeen above. To deſpiſe an enemy, is almoſt as dangerous, as to fear him. However,

However, the news of this diſaſter was variouſly canvaſſed, and ſometimes with a warmth which threatened a future breach between the regular and provincial troops. The officers charged the men with cowardice; but in a repreſentation theſe made to mr. Shirley, by order of the crown, they apologized for their conduct, alledging they were harraſſed by duties unequal to their numbers, and diſpirited for want of proviſions, which they had not time to dreſs; that their water (the only liquor they had, and of a bad quality) was ſcarce; that the provincials had diſheartened them by decrying the European method of fighting againſt the Indians, and their officers would hear of no other; that mr. Braddock ſlighted the friendly Indians, and refuſed their aſſiſtance, who were moſt likely to diſcover the enemy, from their knowledge of the country and method of fighting. Certain it is, they foretold, that this army would be ruined. The Virginian rangers were alſo made to ſerve as regulars in rank, though fitteſt to be employed as ſcouts. In ſhort, this, and every other ſtep neceſſary to prevent ſurprize, was neglected, and the whole army left to the conduct of three or four guides, who, unuſed to encounter, were likely to fly on the firſt alarm, when they were moſt wanted to give a knowledge of the country; which is of the utmoſt conſequence to a general, either in time of action, or when a retreat is found neceſſary.

General Braddock, to great perſonal bravery, added a high notion of honour and military diſcipline. Reſpected by his officers, he was hated by the men, who ſince he took the command, had been haraſſed with unneceſſary duties. A punctilious exactneſs in guards, parades and exerciſe, is very uſeful to troops not otherwiſe employed, as it prevents gaming and drinking, with other extravagances; it may be of ſervice in the field, where a country is inhabited, to prevent maroding, or deſertion. But in the wilds of America, nothing of this could be apprehended. The general knew himſelf ſuperior; all that the ſervice required, was to guard againſt ſurprize, and keep the men in ſpirits. To be a commander it requires genius: This only can point out when to vary from general maxims.

Beſides this expedition of general Braddock to fort Du Queſne, there were three others concerted by general Shirley, on whom the chief command had devolved by general Braddock's death. The firſt, under his own direction, was intended to reduce Niagara, a fort which commands the Iroquois's country; but he met with ſo many difficulties, and the ſeaſon was

ſo far advanced, when they arrived at Oſwego, the neareſt of our forts on that rout, it was judged improper to attempt any thing on that ſide.

But the ſecond expedition ſucceeded, by which the French were driven from their encroachments in Nova-Scotia. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's-bay were hearty in the cauſe, and raiſed, early in the ſpring, a body of troops. Theſe were tranſported to aſſiſt governor Lawrence in that ſervice. Accordingly, towards the end of May, a large detachment was ſent out under lieutenant-colonel Monckton; and ſome frigates under the command of captain Rous, were diſpatched up the Bay of Fundy, to give aſſiſtance by ſea. The troops, upon their advancing to the river Maſſaguaſh, found themſelves oppoſed by a number of French regulars, ſome of the old French ſettlers, who had rebelled againſt us, together with Indians in the French intereſt. Some of theſe were poſted in a block-houſe, with cannon mounted on their ſide of the river, in number about four hundred and fifty; the reſt occupied a ſtrong breaſt-work of timber, as an out-guard to the block-houſe. Our troops attacked the breaſt-work ſo vigorouſly, that in about an hour's time, the enemy fled, and left them in poſſeſſion of it. Upon this, the garriſon deſerted from the block-houſe, and left the paſſage of Maſſaguaſh river open. Our little army, advancing from hence, attacked the French fort Beauſejour, called ſo from it's pleaſant ſituation. It was on the twelfth of June. when the ſiege commenced, with ſuch a furious bombardment, that the garriſon capitulated on the ſixteenth, though they had twenty-ſix pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition. The terms granted were, That the regulars ſhould be carried to Louiſbourgh, and the French inhabitants be pardoned, as they had been forced into the ſervice. Monckton changed the name of this fort to that of Cumberland; and the next day attacked another fort on the river Gaſperau, which runs into bay Vert. This fort he carried, and found here a large quantity of proviſions. with ſtores of all kinds: it being the chief magazine for furniſhing both the Indians and rebel French in this country, with arms, ammunition, and whatever they wanted. The Colonel next propoſed to reduce a fort at the mouth of St. John's river; but the French abandoned it, demoliſhing, as far as the time would permit, what works they had raiſed there.

In this whole expedition, we had only twenty men killed, and about as many wounded: Thus ſolid tranquility was reſtored at Nova Scotia the diſputes concerning whoſe limits had firſt embroiled the two nations, as it was the country where hoſtilities had been firſt committed.

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An expedition to Crown-point was the third object which general Shirley had in view. This was entruſted to the care of general Johnſon, now deſervedly raiſed to the dignity of a baronet. He was nephew to the late ſir Peter Warren, and born in Ireland. His uncle, while captain of a twenty gun ſhip, and ſtationed at New-York, married a lady, who was a native of that city. Soon after he purchaſed large tracts of land in that colony, and ſent to Ireland for his nephew, then about eighteen years of age, whom he put in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of it, lying contiguous to the Mohawk's country. There he learned the language and cuſtoms of thoſe Indians, often joining their ceremonies for the renewal of treaties; but affects yet to ſpeak by an interpreter, as it is found more agreeable to them, and conſiſtent with his public character on the part of England. By a conſtant reſidence there, he has improved wild, woody lands, into rich farms, with indefatigable labour. He now expected to enjoy himſelf in a neighbourhood of wealthy farmers, and induſtrious tradeſmen, all his own tenants, who were invited hither by him firſt; and from the loweſt circumſtances, had riſen to what they were, by his counſel and liberality: Such was their ſituation, when they were ſummoned by their benefactor to defend their all, and they willingly entered themſelves among the provincial troops, which were raiſed and diſciplined in a hurry for this expedition.

The bulk of theſe were aſſembled from the northern provinces, with which he ſet out. About the latter end of Auguſt he arrived at the ſouth ſide of lake George. Scarce had he pitched his camp before ſome of the Indians, whom he had ſent out as ſcouts, brought advice, that they had diſcovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderago, on the iſthmus between lake George and lake Champlain. This ſerved as an advanced poſt to cover Crown-point; but no works were yet begun.

It would have been proper to have ſecured this paſs firſt; and general Johnſon, knowing it's importance to the reduction of Crown-point, wrote to general Shirley, how impatient he was for the battoes, a kind of boats, to come up, propoſing to tranſport part of the troops by water, for the ſole intention of occupying it; but the French took advantage of their delay, and found him employment at his own camp. Baron Dieſkau had inſtructions from his court to reduce Oſwego. He left Quebec for this purpoſe, and proceeded to Montreal, with the troops lately arrived from France. From hence

hence he detached ſeven hundred men further up the river, intending to join them ſpeedily with the remainder. Juſt before he had made the neceſſary preperations, advice came to Montreal, that we were forming an army at lake George, for the reduction of Crown-point. Upon which M. de Vaudreuil ordered the baron to proceed through lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortreſs. Dieſkau having waited ſome time for the coming up of our army, at length reſolved to advance and fight them, ſuppoſing, if he proved victorious, our nothern ſettelments might be deſolated, and all communications with Oſwego cut off. For the execution of this deſign he embarked at Crown-point with two thouſand men, in battoes, and landed at South-bay, about ſixteen miles from the Engliſh camp. By a priſoner the baron was informed, that it was without lines, and deſtitute of cannon. This camp was near fort Edward, at the lake. Baron Dieſkau advanced within two miles of the fort, and ſuddenly propoſed to attack it. He had with him ſix huudred militia, and about the ſame numbers of Indians, with two hundred regulars. To animate the troops, he told them, *They were certain of ſucceſs; that, on the reduction of this fort, the Engliſh camp muſt neceſſarily be abandoned, and their army diſperſed in great diſorder; that this would enable them to ſubdue Albany, and by ſtarving Oſwego, add to their conqueſt the abſolute dominion of lake Ontario.* Whatever courage this harangue might inſpire into the troops from Europe, the Canadian militia and Indians, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averſe to the propoſal; but declared a willingneſs to ſurprize our camp, where they expected nothing beyond muſquetry. Thus diſappointed in his deſign, Dieſkau changed his rout, and marched againſt our main body at the lake. General Johnſon, on the information of his ſcouts, had ſent ſeveral meſſengers to fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's turning that way. One of theſe was, on his return, intercepted; the reſt got back, and reported that they had diſcovered the enemy, about four miles to the northward of the fort. Next morning it was reſolved to detach one thouſand men, with ſome Indians, in order to haraſs the French in their retreat. Colonel Williams was commander in this ſervice. He met Dieſkau within four miles of our camp, and in an hour's time, a heavy firing was heard. Upon which, general Johnſon ſent a reinforcement, judging rightly, as the fire approached, that our men were retreating; for the enemy was ſuperior. The ſuccours came very ſeaſonably; and the retreat was judiciouſly conducted, on the death of colonel Williams, by lieutenant-colonel Whiting, a Connecticut

ticut officer. General Johnſon had fortified his camp with a breaſt-work haſtily thrown up, and barricadoed with felled trees. To this he had juſt got up ſome heavy cannon, when Dieſkau appeared at the heels of our ſcattered parties. Luckily for them, he halted at about one hundred and fifty yards from the breaſt-work, oppoſite to our center, and began at that diſtance a regular fire of platoons. This was a capital error in the baron; for had he kept cloſe to the detachments in the firſt conſternation, he might eaſily have forced our lines, and gained a compleat victory; but by attacking at that diſtance, our men recover'd their ſpirits, and when the artillery began to play, he found himſelf deſerted, both by the Canadians and ſavages, who all ſculked in the ſwamps, or took to trees, and from thence fired on our flanks, with little execution. In the mean time, our heavy cannon, under the direction of captain Eyre, gauled the French regulars exceſſively; ſo that they were forced to extend themſelves, in order to cover what ground they had occupied, and their fire became ſenſibly weaker. The baron yet encouraged them to make one vigorous effort on our right, himſelf leading them on, without being able to penetrate. They now retired in great diſorder; for our troops, quitting the breaſt-work, attacked them in their turn. What ſoldiers yet ſtaid with Dieſkau, were ſoon diſperſed, and he was found reſting on a ſtump, being wounded through the leg and both hips. General Johnſon had received a wound, which was juſt bound up, when the baron was brought to his tent, being aſſiſted by the ableſt ſurgeons, and protected by the general from the threats of our Indians, who had loſt forty of their ſtouteſt warriors, and one of their chiefs, in the firſt engagement. This was old Hendrick, a ſachem, or king, of the Mohawks, and a friend to the general. This valiant Indian, and his followers, fell furiouſly fighting with their tomahawks, while our men retreated, and are ſaid to have done conſiderable execution. The old ſachem had a ſon on duty in the camp, and word being brought that his father was killed, he ſet up the death-cry after their manner, and clapping his hand on his heart, ſwore, *That his father was yet living there, and he would revenge his death.* This threatning he was for executing on Dieſkau, and it required no little addreſs to protect the one, without exaſperating the other.

Revenge is certainly a ruling paſſion with theſe ſavages. Among civilized nations, it is only harboured in weak minds; but with them it is the reſult of an early inſtitution; for they want not examples of courage and generoſity;------of which take an inſtance in the late action.

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One of our planters, at the right of the breaſt-work, had his piece burſt, juſt as the enemy made their laſt deſperate puſh on that ſide; deſirous of being farther ſerviceable, he cried out aloud, *What ſhall I do without a piece?* An Indian, that ſtood next him, generouſly ſaid, *You may take mine*; and without tarrying for an anſwer, threw it down; then, as if he would ſhew how eaſy it was to get another, leapt over the barricade, and diſarming a French ſoldier, ſhot him dead on the ſpot. He then retreated with the ſame agility, and took his former ſtation at the breaſt-work. This way of charg ing ſuddenly, from a place of ſecurity, and regaining it as dexterouſly, is what particularizes the Indian method of fight-ing. But to return.

The French being routed, and their general taken, the Canadians and Indians retired in ſmall parties, and not being ſufficiently diſperſed, they halted about four miles from the camp, where the firſt engagement happened in the morning. Here they entered into a conſultation, and even meditated a ſecond attack. Why the enemy were not further purſued, when the rout became general, does not appear, and general Johnſon has been blamed on this account; but it is to be con-ſidered, that Braddock's defeat was yet freſh in their minds; that conſiderable loſs had been ſuſtained in the morning, which made ſuch an impreſſion, that nothing but the general's pre-caution in fortifying his camp, ſaved the troops: Indeed, what more could be expected, from a militia, raiſed in a hurry, and ſcarce diſciplined, than barely to repel thoſe invaders, who had ruined an army of regulars.

Whatever reſolution the enemy might take to retrieve their loſs, a body of Engliſh appearing ſoon put an end to their conſultations. This was a party of about two hundred men, which had been detached from fort Edward, to ſtrengthen our camp. Theſe were commanded by the brave captain M'Ginnes. The enemy immediately attacked him; finding himſelf much overnumbered, and ſcorning to turn his back on a beaten enemy, he took a reſolution of fighting his way thro' them. This he effected with great order and firmneſs. They were roughly handled, but the enemy had little to boaſt of; for reckoning on the deſtruction of this whole party, the Canadians and ſavages expoſed themſelves more than their cuſtom is; while our men faced about, keeping up at the ſame time regular flanking fires. In ſhort, they compleated what had been left unfiniſhed, and arrived at the camp unbroken. The brave captain died of the wounds he had received in this recounter, after having ſignalized himſelf, by a courage and conduct,

conduct, that would have done honour to a ſuperior officer. Upon the whole our loſs was conſiderable; for colonel Williams, major Aſhly, ſix captains, ſeveral ſubalterns, and a number of private men were killed, beſides Indians. Little of this loſs was ſuſtained at the attack on the camp, where few were either killed or wounded, and not any of note ſlain but colonel Titcomb. On the other hand, the enemy's loſs muſt have been very conſiderable, as they obſtinately perſiſted in the attack on our lines. Baron Dieſkau reckoned it at one thouſand men.

Although the French had been thus defeated it was judged too late in the year to attempt the reduction of Crown-point; as in that caſe it would have been neceſſary to erect a fort at the place where our camp then was, in order to ſecure a communication with Albany, which was the only place from whence they could expect reinforcements of men, or freſh ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions. For this reaſon, ſoon after the engagement, the army ſet out on its return; but they firſt erected a little ſtockaded fort, at the end of lake George. A ſmall garriſon was left there, which ſoon fell a prey to the enemy, as our whole army, being country militia, was likely to diſperſe and return home. This happened, in fact, on their arrival at Albany. Thus ended this expedition, which, though honourable for the general and provincial troops, had no great conſequences, except reviving the ſpirits of our people, who had begun to deſpair on Braddock's defeat. General Johnſon was created a baronet and rewarded with five thouſand pounds, honourably voted him in parliament; but the French had ſtill the ſuperiority, and the frontiers of our provinces lay expoſed to their incurſions.

During theſe tranſactions in America, orders were iſſued by the Britiſh miniſtry to ſeize all the French ſhips, whether outward or homeward bound; and ſo ſucceſsful were the Britiſh cruizers, that before Chriſtmas three hundred of the French merchantmen, and eight thouſand of their ſailors were brought into our ports. This ſpirited order was aſcribed to mr. Fox, but the original hint came from alderman Janſen: Nothing could be better timed, after negociations were found fruitleſs: It was, however, bad management to let the cargoes of ſuch ſhips, as had periſhable commodities, ſpoil before they were diſpoſed of. Some that were of fiſh ſtunk ſo abominably that the veſſels were carried out to ſea and ſunk; whereas, if all had been diſpoſed of, the money might have been reſerved till the French would hearken to reaſon; our merchants might have had good pennyworths; the loſs

too would have fallen on the French, where it ought; and we might have reaped the whole advantage. However, the depriving them ſo early of their prime ſailors, was what they never could get over; and though at firſt they made a buſtle, as if they would return it in kind, our miniſtry had got the lead and could play this game out with them. For this reaſon the Blandford man of war, which was taken by the French, was ſo politely reſtored; but this we made light of.

It was now they had recourſe to their old play, of embroiling us on the continent of Europe. They reſolved to engage us in Germany, in order to draw our attention from the diſputes in America. For this intent they ſecured ſome of the petty ſovereigns of which that empire is compoſed; in particular the elector of Cologne, who conſented to their erecting magazines in his country. His late majeſty, then in Germany, inſtantly perceived that this ſtep was aimed at his Electoral dominions, and began to provide for their ſecurity. In June he entered into a ſubſidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, whereby that prince was to furniſh twelve thouſand men for four years; theſe were to be employed in caſe Hanover or England ſhould be attacked; but the more immediate defence of the former was the object of this treaty. He alſo required from the court of Vienna thoſe auxiliaries ſtipulated by treaty; but theſe were refuſed, on pretence that the diſpute between Britain and France concerned America only, and made no circumſtance wherein aſſiſtance could be claimed by that alliance.

About this time the foundation was laid of a ſubſidiary treaty with Ruſſia, but it was not ſigned till the laſt of September. The Czarina agreed to furniſh fifty-five thouſand men, and forty or fifty gallies, if his Britannic majeſty's dominions in Germany ſhould be attacked, in conſideration of paying five hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* for four years; this was ſtipulated in the fifth article. The ſeventh was levelled at the king of Pruſſia, in theſe remarkable words "Conſidering the proximity of the countries where the diverſion will probably be made, and the facility of ſubſiſting her troops in an enemy's country, Ruſſia takes upon herſelf, during ſuch a diverſion, the ſubſiſtence and ordering of the ſaid troops by ſea and land."

By the eleventh article it was agreed, that the Ruſſian troops ſhould have all the plunder they took from the enemy.

The King of Pruſſia, by ſome means, got a copy of this treaty in a ſhort time after it was ſigned, and reſolutely declared, that he would oppoſe with all his force the introduction

duction of foreign troops into the empire. France, at that time preparing to invade the electorate, heard this declaration with aſtoniſhment; ſhe ſent to Berlin the Duke de Nivernois, and tampered with that monarch to retract this declaration; but the manner in which her ambaſſador was received ſeemed to denote a reſolution in the king to make good his declaration.

None could determine now, whether the French and Pruſſians had not formed a deſign of entering Hanover together. His Britannic Majeſty reſolved to defend it. The King of Pruſſia's conduct was to be ſuſpected, and at this time he was far from being acceptable to the people of Britain as an ally. His majeſty was convinced that the Ruſſian troops, intended to make a diverſion on the Pruſſians, would be ſome time in marching, as they muſt come through Poland; whereas the French and Pruſſians were ready and might quickly over-run the Electorate. Thus this ſeeming reſource for it's defence was deem'd ineffectual, and all Europe confirmed how difficult it is for Britain to protect that diſtant country. We had nothing now to do but renounce the treaty with Ruſſia, and buy off an evil which we could not remedy. This produced the treaty with Pruſſia.

When the treaties which had been made with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel were known publickly in England, they were far from being well received. This new continental ſyſtem was inveighed againſt by the public, and ſtrong oppoſition was meditating againſt it in parliament. Even ſome of the miniſtry at the head of the finances refuſed to anſwer the firſt draught for money which came over from Ruſſia, becauſe it could not be made value received till the treaty was approved in parliament, neither had the Ruſſian troops yet done any ſervice. It was apprehended likewiſe that this treaty was inconſiſtent with the act of ſettlement.

The parliament met in November, when there appeared a ſtrange jumble of parties in both houſes, as well as in the miniſtry. The king ordered the late treaties to be laid before them; whereupon mr. Pitt and his adherents declared ſtrongly againſt connexions with the continent. In this they were ſeconded by mr. Legge, then chancellor of the Exchequer, who was ſoon after ſucceeded in his employments by ſir George Lyttleton. The honourable Charles Townſhend, and ſeveral others of ſuperior rank, appeared on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. Sir Thomas Robinſon had been ſecretary of ſtate ſome time; he, though a well-meaning man and in particular favour with the king, found himſelf oppos'd by

the whole intereſt of mr. Pitt, then paymaſter general, and mr. Fox, ſecretary at war.

It was on all hands concluded that the public buſineſs could not go on if another ſecretary was not appointed, becauſe mr. Pitt and mr. Fox, though they agreed ſcarce in any thing elſe, united in thwarting ſir Thomas in all his meaſures. Their abilities, though of oppoſite kinds, were generally acknowledged to be great, and, by their ſuperior influence in the Houſe of Commons, they had often obſtructed the ſecretary's deſigns. It is no uncommon thing in England, eſpecially of late, to ſee gentlemen, who hold conſiderable places under the government oppoſing, upon every ſlight occaſion, a ſecretary of ſtate, however he is ſuppoſed to know and ſpeak the ſentiments of his maſter. Sir Thomas, ſenſible of their abilities and intereſt in the houſe, prudently reſigned on the 10th of November; and the ſeals of his office were conferred on mr. Fox, who was ſucceeded by lord Barrington, as ſecretary at war. The popular party were yet excluded, and to this the confuſion which followed in the enſuing year was doubtleſs, in ſome degree, owing. Theſe alterations being made the treaties were taken under conſideration, and approved by a majority of both houſes; but the members were far from being unanimous. They next provided for the ſervice of 1756, by voting 100,000 l. as a ſubſidy to Ruſſia, 54,140 l. to the landgrave of Heſſe, and 100,000 l. to the elector of Bavaria. Theſe ſums were granted after ſeveral warm debates. As the miniſtry were afraid of an invaſion from France, our army was augmented with ten new regiments of foot, and eleven troops of light horſe, added to ſo many regiments of dragoons. There were fifty thouſand ſeamen, including nine thouſand marines, voted, beſides above thirty-four thouſand ſoldiers; all which, with other expences and deficiencies in the foregoing year, ſwelled the ſupplies to the ſum of 7,229,117 l.

The fears of an invaſion engroſſed all the attention of our miniſtry, which were weak if ſeriouſly entertained; and if they were aſſumed to ſerve a preſent end they were much overacted. It is allowed the chief perſons in truſt wanted confidence in one another, as well as countenance from the public. They were confounded too by the ſtratagems of the French, who marched a body of troops along their ſea-coaſts towards the cloſe of the year 1755, and early this year gave out, that they would invade us. At the ſame time they were fitting out a fleet at Toulon for the conqueſt of Minorca. The pretence of an invaſion gave them an opportunity of executing

ting this; yet the Britiſh agents reſidents, conſuls, ambaſſadors, &c. at different places, on and near the Mediterranean, ſent repeated advices to London, from Auguſt 1755, to April following, that there was a grand armament equipping at Toulon, conſiſting of twelve or fifteen ſhips of the line, with a great number of tranſports for troops encamped in that neighbourhood. Theſe were ſaid to be a conſiderable body, and the ſquadron being victualled for only a ſhort time, with other particular circumſtances, made it very probable that this armament was deſtined for Minorca.

Of this conſul Banks at Carthagena gave the firſt intelligence, in his letters dated the 20th and 27th of Auguſt, adviſing, that the maſters of ſome French veſſels from Toulon, reported there were in that port twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, of which eighteen had been new built ſince the laſt peace; that theſe, with twelve frigates and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, were fitting out, beſides ſix new ſhips on the ſtocks, all which were of the line, and ſome were ready for launching; that he had received intelligence of a hundred and eighty battalions of troops marching into Rouſillon with great diligence; that theſe were deſtined againſt Minorca, and were to be tranſported thither in merchants ſhips at Marſeilles, and convoyed by all the men of war from Toulon.

Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambaſſador at Madrid, on the firſt of September tranſmitted to ſir Thomas Robinſon an authentic liſt of the Toulon fleet; and conſul Banks, in January 1756, added to the firſt advices, that he was informed, by ſome whoſe intelligence from France might be depended on, that ſixty battalions were ordered into Provence, to be commanded by the Duke de Richlieu; that between ſixty and ſeventy veſſels were detained for tranſports at Toulon, whither they continued to ſend all the ſailors they could procure as ſoon as they arrived at other ports.

Though the French all this while affected to talk of an invaſion, to be headed by the Pretender, and conducted by the Duke de Belleiſle, all perſons of judgment, as well here as in the ports of the Mediterranean, agreed that ſuch a project would be attended with inſuperable difficulties, and could only be given out to alarm the Britiſh miniſtry and divert their attention. At this time there were neither the means, nor even the appearance of a ſufficient embarkation, to alarm England with a deſcent. Notwithſtanding this, it appeared by the diſpoſition of our fleets at that time, that the Britiſh miniſtry were chiefly attentive to guard the channel, and did nothing for the ſecurity of Minorca. There was advice indeed, ſo early as the begin-

beginning of December laſt, which allowed that ſome propoſals for an invaſion had been made in France, and even that the Pretender had been at Fountainbleau in a private conſultation; but that every thing mentioned in order to an invaſion was rejected, for this reaſon chiefly, becauſe it was impoſſible to collect a ſufficient number of tranſports in any one or two ports; neither was the Breſt fleet in any condition to convoy them, and there was the greateſt probability of falling in with the Engliſh, either going or returning; in which caſe the deſign would be fruſtrated, and the whole trade of France at the mercy of England; therefore all reports of an invaſion appeared to be a feint. This was confirmed by another letter on December the tenth to lord Holderneſs, where it is obſerved that there was no diſpoſitions on the coaſts of the Britiſh channel for an embarkation.

Notwithſtanding this authentic intelligence his Majeſty ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Lords on the twenty-third of February, ſignifying, that he had received repeated notices, from different places and perſons, that a deſign had been formed by the French to invade Britain or Ireland, and that the great preparations of land-forces, ſhips, artillery, &c. in the ports oppoſite our coaſts, had not only cauſed him to augment his forces, but that he had likewiſe ordered over a body of Heſſian troops: Still nothing was mentioned of the accounts concerning Minorca.

However informations kept arriving, and among the reſt one from general Blakeney, all agreeing, that the reduction of that place was abſolutely intended, and what was done in conſequence of it. The miniſtry could not be ignorant of the garriſon's deficiency in officers and men, and it's danger of falling a prey to ſo powerful an attack, for want of a fleet to cover the iſland from ſuch an attempt; yet all this could only procure an order, and that ſo late as the eighth of March, for ten ſhips of the line to hold themſelves in readineſs for the Mediterranean.

The equipping of theſe ſhips was clogged with ſuch directions, that their departure was delayed to the ſeventh of April for want of men. Admiral Byng was named to the command of this ſquadron; an officer never diſtinguiſhed for courage; nor was he beloved in the navy. He was ordered to haſten the fitting out of the Stirling-Caſtle, to compleat her number of hands in preference to any other ſhip, but not to meddle with the men on board the Naſſau, Torbay, Eſſex, Prince Frederick, and Grayhound; theſe being wanted to cruize off Cherburgh, in order to intercept four frigates and forty merchantmen,

men, drove in there from Havre. On this account the Mediterranean was left unguarded, if we except two or three inconſiderable ſhips and frigates, till the month of May; neither did general Blakeney's officers, who were in England on leave of abſence, embark till it was too late.

In ſhort, all Europe obſerved, with aſtoniſhment, the ſupineneſs of our miniſtry, who all the while were ſeverely cenſured at home.

Admiral Byng ſailed on the ſeventh of April with ten ſhips of the line, not in the beſt condition, weakly manned, and without hoſpital or fire ſhip to attend them. They had on board a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibralter, between forty and fifty officers, and near one hundred recruits to reinforce general Blakeney. The admiral's inſtructions were very intricate; he was, when he came to Gibraltar, to enquire whether a French ſquadron had paſſed the Streights; if they had, and it was probable they were gone to America, he was to detach rear-admiral Weſt after them. Now it is natural to aſk, Suppoſing Byng had been joined with two or three ſhips at Gibraltar, which was but a meer chance, what force could he detach after the enemy's fleet, and have ſufficient ſtrength left to cover fort St. Phillips, or fight the French fleet, which, from the beſt advice, conſiſted of 12 ſhips af the line? Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the ſecond of May, where he was joined by Capt. Edegecumbe, with one ſhip and a ſloop, who brought advice that the French had actually made a deſcent on Minorca, and that a fleet of thirteen men of war, under Galiſſioniere, was cruizing off the iſland, which had forced him off that ſtation.

The admiral demanded, agreeable to his inſtructions a detachment from the garriſon of Gibraltar, equal to a battalion. Upon which lieutenant general Fowke, the governor, called a council of war to deliberate on two ſucceſſive orders, which he had received from lord Barrington, as they appeared inconſiſtent and equivocal. The majority were of opinion, that no troops ſhould be put on board the fleet, except a detachment to ſupply the deficiency in captain Edgecumbe's little ſquadron, he having left a number of men with captain Scroope to aſſiſt in the defence of fort St. Phillip. Mr. Byng being forced to clean and water was delayed ſome time, and reſolved to communicate theſe tranſactions to the lords of the admiralty, which he did in the following letter.

SIR,

RAMILIES, *in Gibraltar-Bay, May* 4, 1756.

SIR,

THIS comes to you by expreſs from hence by the way of Madrid, recommended to ſir Benjamin Keene, his majeſty's miniſter at that place, to be forwarded with the utmoſt expedition.

I arrived here with the ſquadron under my command the ſecond inſtant in the afternoon, after a tedious paſſage of twenty-ſeven days, occaſioned by contrary winds and calms, and was extremely concerned to hear from captain Egecumbe (who I found here with the Princeſs Louiſa and Fortune ſloop) that he was obliged to retire from Minorca, the French having landed on that iſland, by all accounts, from thirteen to fifteen thouſand men.

They ſailed from Toulon the tenth of laſt month, with about one hundred and ſixty, or two hundred ſail of tranſports, eſcorted by thirteen ſail of men of war; how many of the line I have not been able to learn with any certainty.

If I had been ſo happy to have arrived at Mahon, BEFORE THE FRENCH HAD LANDED, I flatter myſelf, I ſhould have been able to have prevented their getting a footing on that iſland; but as it has ſo unfortunately turned out, I am firmly of opinion, for the great force they have landed, and the quantity of proviſions, ſtores of ammunition of all kinds they brought with them, that the throwing men into the caſtle will only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the numbers that muſt fall into the enemies hands; for the garriſon in time will be obliged to ſurrender, unleſs a ſufficient number of men could be landed to diſlodge the French, or raiſe the ſiege; however, I am determined to ſail up to Minorca with the ſquadron, when I ſhall be a better judge of the ſituation of affairs there, and will give general Blakeney all the aſſiſtance he ſhall require; tho' I am afraid all communication will be cut off between us, as is the opinion of the chief engineers of this garriſon (who have ſerved in the iſland) and that of the other officers of the artillery, who are acquainted with the ſituation of the harbour; for if the enemy have erected batteries on the two ſhores near the entrance of the harbour (an advantage ſcarce to be ſuppoſed they have neglected) it will render it impoſſible for our boats to have a paſſage to the Salle port of the garriſon.

If I ſhould fail in the relief of Portmahon, I ſhall look upon the ſecurity of Gibraltar as my next object, and ſhall repair down here with the ſquadron. The

The Cheſterfield, Portland and Dolphin are on their paſſage from Mahone for this place. The Phœnix is gone to Leghorn by order of captain Edgecumbe for letters and intelligence and the Experiment is cruizing off Cape Pallas, whom I expect in every hour.

We are employed in taking in wine and compleating our water, with the utmoſt diſpatch, and ſhall let no opportunity ſlip of ſailing.

Herewith I ſend you incloſed a copy of ſuch papers as have been delivered me, which I thought neceſſary for their lordſhips inſpection. I am, SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

J. B.

To the Hon. J----n C-------d, Eſq;

This letter was carefully ſuppreſs'd, it not being proper that the people ſhould know that he already found his arrival too late, and his force too weak; that the ſhips were foul and their ſtores ſhort; indeed, this letter laid the foundation of his ruin; for people were now told, *That he was a coward, and would not fight.*

On the 8th of May he left Gibraltar, and was joined by captain Hervey off Minorca. On the 19th he arrived within ſight of Mahone. and ſeeing Britiſh colours ſtill flying on St. Philip's caſtle, with ſeveral bomb batteries playing on it from different quarters, where the French banner was diſplayed, he detached captain Hervey to the harbour's mouth with a letter to general Blakeney, importing, that the fleet was come to his aſſiſtance: but before this could be executed, the French fleet appeared to the ſouth-eaſt. Upon which captain Hervey was recalled, and likewiſe ſome frigates which had been out to make obſervations; and orders were given to form the line of battle. About ſix in the evening the enemy to the number of ſeventeen ſhips, thirteen of which were large, advanced in order; but about ſeven tacked with a deſign to gain the weather gage. Mr. Byng, to ſecure that advantage as well as to make ſure of the land-wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola.

May the 20th, at break of day, the enemy could not be ſeen; but two tartanes appearing cloſe to the rear of our fleet a ſignal was made to chace them. One eſcaped, but the other being taken, had on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private ſoldiers, part of ſix hundred, which had been ſent out in tartanes the day before to

reinforce their fleet; which ſoon appearing, the line of battle was formed on both ſides. About two admiral Byng threw out a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his diſtance from the enemy was ſo great, that rear admiral Weſt finding it impoſſible to comply with both orders, he bore away ſeven points from the wind with his diviſion, and then falling down upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were ſoon driven out of the line. Had he been properly ſupported by the van, in all probability the Britiſh fleet would have gained a compleat victory; but the other diviſion not bearing down, and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, rear admiral Weſt could not follow his advantage, without running the riſk of having his communication with the reſt of the line cut off. In the beginning of this action the Intrepid, of Byng's diviſion, was ſo diſabled in her rigging that ſhe could not be managed, and drove on the next ſhip in poſition; a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw their ſails aback, which, by filling the contrary way, hindered them from running upon her, or one another. This confuſion retarded the van's going down; and it is certain, that mr. Byng, in a capital ſhip of 90 guns, made little or no uſe of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an over-acted obſervance of diſcipline, or want of courage. When his captain propoſed to bear down on the enemy, he replied with great compoſure, *That he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spaniards off Toulon, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and expoſed himſelf ſingly to a fire which he could not ſuſtain.* But the admiral was not for acting, unleſs with the line entire; and under pretence of rectifying the diſorder which had happened among the ſhips, he heſitated ſo long and kept at ſuch a diſtance, that he was never properly engaged, though he had a few ſhot in his hull. M. Galiſſoniere ſeemed equally averſe to continue the engagement. Part of his ſquadron had been fairly puſhed out of the line; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in weight of metal and number of men, yet he did not chuſe to abide the conſequence of a cloſer fight. He therefore took the advantage of Byng's confuſion, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been beaten, and they drew off together. Our ſquadron chaced, but the French ſhips being clean they could not come up with them, which gave the enemy an opportunity to retire at their leiſure, while the Engliſh admiral tacked, in order to keep advantage of the wind; but in the morning they were clear out of ſight.

Admiral

Admiral Byng now lay to with the fleet, Mahone being diſtant ten leagues. He then ſent out cruizers for the ſhips that were miſſing; theſe having joined him he made an enquiry into the condition of the ſquadron. The number of killed was forty-two, among which was captain Andrews, of the Defiance. About one hundred and ſixty-eight were wounded; and three of the capital ſhips were ſo much damaged in their maſts, that they could not keep the ſea with any proſpect of ſafety. A great many ſeamen were ſick, and there was no veſſel which could be converted into an hoſpital-ſhip for theſe and the wounded. In this ſituation the admiral called a council of war, at which he permitted the land-officers to be preſent. He repreſented to them, that we were much inferior to the enemy in weight of guns and number of men; that they had the advantage of ſending their wounded to Minorca, from whence alſo they were refreſhed, and could be occaſionally reinforced: that in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the garriſon at fort St. Philip's, and that they ought to make the beſt of their way to Gibraltar, as this might require immediate protection. The council concurring in theſe ſentiments, he directed his courſe accordingly. Had our ſquadron been defeated this would certainly have been a prudent meaſure; but as the engagement was little more than a ſkirmiſh, he might have fought the enemy a ſecond time, and regulated his conduct by the iſſue of that event. His return to Gibraltar can no way be juſtified; for though that fortreſs was weak, it could not be ſuppoſed that Galiſſoniere would leave his ſtation off Minorca, where he had a ſiege to cover, and act on the offenſive againſt Gibraltar, while there was an Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean. We have before obſerved that mr. Byng had not ſufficient force for the relief of St. Philip's; yet it is certain he might have landed what little force he had, and that he ought to have attacked the French fleet with vigour on their retreat, as ſo little damage had been done to his ſquadron, and when the advantage of wind and weather were in his favour. In ſhort, it is probable had he done this the enemy's fleet might have been ruined, and ours might have rode victorious in the harbour of Mahone, and prevented, by ſhort cruizes, thoſe ſupplies of heavy artillery and ammunition which arrived afterwards, and were neceſſary to continue the ſiege. Add to this, the garriſon muſt look upon themſelves as betrayed, or that our fleet was ruined; whereas the diſcouragement would have been on the enemy's ſide if we had only entered the harbour; the abſent officers and recruits might have come ſeaſonably to relieve a

garriſon too ſlender for ſuch numerous defences: and our brave ſeamen have ſince convinced the world that they could occaſionally take part with the ſoldiers, even in the moſt dangerous and difficult attacks, and where they were greatly expoſed: Whereas fort St. Philip, being furniſhed with ſubterranean communications between the works, the men were leſs expoſed than ordinary, and ſuffered moſt from want of reſt, and being harraſſed with continual duty.

For this and other reaſons, it muſt be allow'd, that Mr. Byng paid no regard to the diſtreſs of his countrymen; that his conduct upon the whole, as well as during the engagement, was ſcandalous, and that his retreat to Gibraltar had all the appearance of cowardice.

As ſoon as advice came to England, that the French army was landed in Minorca, a reſolution was taken to declare war; which was accordingly done in form, importing, "That ſince the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the uſurpations and encroachments made on the Britiſh territory had been notorious;----That his Britannic majeſty had, in divers ſerious repreſentations to the court of Verſailles, complained of theſe repeated acts of violence and demanded ſatisfaction; which, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn promiſes, was denyed on frivolous pretences;---- That hoſtilities were committed in the year 1754, by a body of French under an officer bearing the French king's commiſſion, on the River Ohio, in North America;---That under pretence of ſettling what was in diſpute, they had trifled with and amuſed the court of London, till they had ſtrengthened themſelves in thoſe parts, and added to their encroachments; ---That in conſequence of the neceſſary meaſures on our part to counteract ſo dangerous a deſign, the French ambaſſador was recalled, Dunkirk new fortified, and troops marched to the ſea-coaſts, threatening England with an invaſion;---That though the King in order to prevent this, had given orders to ſeize the French ſhipping, he had hitherto contented himſelf with detaining the captures and preſerving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to condemn them. But it became evident from the hoſtile invaſion of Minorca, that France was proceeding to the greateſt extremities, and that his Britannic majeſty was neceſſitated to depart from that moderation he had hitherto obſerved. A declaration of war followed in the uſual form, and ſafe protection was promiſed to ſuch ſubjects of France reſiding in Great Britain and Ireland, as ſhould behave themſelves peaceably."

Early in June, the French king declared war in his turn, with ſome bitterneſs, but great art in the expreſſion. He threw a ſhade over the firſt riſe of hoſtilities, referring to a memorial,

rial, containing a ſummary of the facts which related to the matter in diſpute, delivered to the courts of Furope. "He inſiſted that the Engliſh commenced hoſtilities in North America firſt, and afterwards on the French navy and merchants ſhips, to the great interruption of commerce;---That his ſubjects detained in England were harſhly treated;---That our court had impoſed on his ambaſſador when hoſtilities were actually projecting;---That they caballed with other courts to engage them againſt France, while he did not even require the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty;----That while the Engliſh continued taking his ſhips, he had releaſed an Engliſh frigate and other ſhips, which might convince all Europe of the ambition, avarice and jealouſy of one court; and the honour, juſtice, and moderation, of the other;---That the vague imputation of France invading England, was a falſhood calculated to give a colour for detaining his ſhips, for that Dunkirk was not fortified, nor a battalion marched to the ſea-coaſt, till two of his men of war were taken."

In ſhort, the moſt Chriſtian king taxes his brother Monarch with downright piracy, perfidy, cruelty and deceit; a charge the more injurious, if we conſider that the accuſers were well acquainted with the falſhood of their imputations, and infamous for the practice of thoſe very arts they pretended to expoſe; for nothing could be urged againſt the court of London, but the omiſſion of mere forms with an enemy, who had previouſly concerted and committed the firſt hoſtilities. This was a fact laid down and inſiſted on in our declaration, but cunningly ſlipped over in theirs.

We have ſeen the manner in which admiral Byng retired from before Mahone, let us now attend the French in the ſiege of St. Philip's, beginning our account from the 12th of April, being the time their ſquadron ſailed from Toulon. This armament conſiſted of thirteen capital ſhips of the line and ſeven frigates, with about eleven thouſand men in tranſports, who were commanded by the duke de Richlieu. They landed on the eighteenth, on the twenty-fourth appeared before the caſtle of St. Philip, being a chief fortreſs in the Iſland of Minorca. General Blakeny ſent a letter to the duke de Richlieu, to require a reaſon for his coming there; and had for anſwer, *That he was come to reduce the Iſland, by way of retaliation for the loſſes France had ſuſtained in the capture of ſhips by the Engliſh.*

On the twelfth of May the operations of the ſiege commenced, with the erection of ſome batteries on cape Mola, a point of land too diſtant from the fortreſs to do execution; and the

French

French general found he was ſo expoſed to the fire of the garriſon, that he thought proper to change his method of attack, and make his advances on the ſide of St. Philip's town. Here he opened ſeveral batteries, which kept an inceſſant fire on the caſtle.

On the 17th, the Britiſh fleet appearing, ſo elevated the garriſon that they redoubled their efforts, and deſtroyed many of the enemy's works. Mr. Boyd, commiſſary of the ſtores, ventured to embark in a little boat with ſix oars, in order if poſſible, to ſpeak with the admiral. He paſſed the enemy's batteries through a diſcharge of cannon and muſketry without harm; but when he got out to ſea, he perceived the ſquadron at too great a diſtance, and two of the enemy's light veſſels purſuing him. Upon which he reſolved to return back, and was relanded without harm. This is ſufficient to ſhew that a communication with the garriſon was practicable. Next day Galiſſoniere returned to his ſtation off the harbour's mouth, which greatly damped the ſpirits of our men; and in the evening intelligence was received by a French deſerter, that the Britiſh fleet had been defeated in an engagement with the French. This deſerter might be politically diſpatched for that purpoſe: However this was ſoon confirmed by bonfires in the French camp, and other tokens of joy, which they were under no concern to keep ſecret.

The brave garriſon thought themſelves betrayed, or at leaſt deſerted. They had no reaſon to look on this deſcent of the enemy as a ſurprize, but a formed deſign; of which timely notice was given to our court, together with a ſtate of the garriſon. A perſon muſt be in their ſituation to judge of their ſentiments. Notwithſtanding this mortification they reſolved to acquit themſelves with honour, and kept up their ſpirits, hoping the Engliſh ſquadron would be reinforced and return to their relief. They remounted cannon where the carriages had been diſabled; they removed them occaſionally to places whence it was judged they could do the greateſt execution; they repaired breaches, reſtored works, and laboured inceſſantly, and with great alacrity, though almoſt ſurrounded with the French batteries, when their embraſures for the guns were beat one into another, and the parapet walls deſtroyed; ſo that they fought expoſed, not only to the cannons and mortars, but even to muſketry which fired on them without ceaſing from the windows and houſes in St. Philip's town. By this time they were inveſted with an army of twenty thouſand men, and plyed inceſſantly from ſixty-two battering cannon, with twenty-one mortars and four hawitzers, beſides the ſmall

arms.

arms. Nevertheleſs the loſs of men was inconſiderable, the garriſon being moſtly under cover of the ſubterranean works which were cut out of the rock, and proof againſt ſhells or ſhot. The governor made as much uſe as poſſible of this advantage to ſhelter his men, ordering the guards to parade under cover, and to relieve the ſeveral poſts by theſe communications; and that part of the garriſon, not upon duty, was ordered to take ſhelter here and keep as cloſe as poſſible. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages the works were too extenſive, and the men too few, to make ſallies. Beſides the governor was confined to ſuch opperations as might annoy the enemy from his batteries, and ſave his ſcanty numbers for the defence of the place in a laſt extremity. He ordered a ſelect number of ſoldiers to be diſciplined in the management of artillery, many of whom became expert gunners, and did great ſervice in the defence of the place. Councils of war were held frequently, at which the engineers always attended, and were conſulted with; ſo that the batteries of cannon and mortars being well ſerved did conſiderable execution.

The duke de Richlieu hearing that a ſtrong reinforcement was diſpatched to join the Britiſh fleet, and ſenſible of ſome practices at the French court to his diſadvantage, puſhed the ſiege with all imaginable vigour. By the 27th of June a practicable breach was made in one of the ravelins, and the other out-works were damaged to ſuch a degree that a general aſſault was that night reſolved on. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, the French advanced to the aſſault on all quarters from the land-ſide; at the ſame time a ſtrong detachment in boats attempted to force the harbour and gain St. Stephen's creek, in order to ſtorm fort Charles, and ſecond that attack on fort Marlborough from the land-ſide, which is fartheſt detached from St. Philip's of all the out-works. They advanced to the attack on all ſides with great intrepidity, and the duke de Richlieu is ſaid to have led them up to the works in perſon.

Such an aſſault could not but be attended with great ſlaughter. They were plyed, as they approached, with grape-ſhot, muſketry and hand granadoes. Several mines too were ſprung with great effect, ſo that the out-works were almoſt covered with dying and dead bodies. But the French perſevered in the aſſault with great reſolution, and at length made a lodgment in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged with their batteries. Lieutenant-colonel Jefferies was haſtening to relieve the party poſted here with a hundred men, when he found the French in poſſeſſion; he endeavouring to retreat, was taken

taken priſoner with fifteen of his men. Major Cunningham, then in company, though he had the good fortune to eſcape was wounded in the right hand with a bayonet, and the piece being diſcharged at the ſame time, ſo ſhattered his arm as entirely to diſable him. Theſe two officers had been the governor's chief aſſiſtants during the ſiege; and it was more diſheartening at this juncture to loſe them.

The enemy having made themſelves maſters of Anſtruther's and the Queen's redoubts beat a parley, deſiring permiſſion to bury their dead and remove the wounded. This requeſt was granted with more humanity then diſcretion; for the enemy took advantage of this interval to ſtrengthen their lodgments with more men, and penetrated into the ſubterranean paſſages, which opened a communication with all the works.

During this ſhort ceſſation general Blakeney called a council of war, to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of the fort and garriſon, when the majority declared for a capitulation. It was urged, that the works were in many places ruined, the guns diſmounted, and the garriſon quite exhauſted with hard duty and inceſſant watching; that the enemy being in poſſeſſion of the ſubterraneans, which communicate all under the caſtle, the governor muſt divide his handful of men to defend theſe ſhould he ſtand another aſſault, or hazard the body of St. Philip's, while he was buſy in maintaining it's extenſive out-works.

Theſe conſiderations, and the want of intelligence, after Byng's retreat with the ſquadron, made the governor propoſe terms of capitulation, as the beſt way to preſerve the remains of a garriſon, which from the firſt ſeemed as given up to the inſults of France. In this caſe it was thought obſtinacy to contend with their fate, though ſome propoſed to hold out longer, but they were over-born by the majority; and it was happy for them that the governor gave up the place, as the enemy landed 4000 men, with more ammunition, the day after he capitulated.

A conference enſued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garriſon, in conſideration of their ſpirited defence; and it muſt be acknowledged the ſiege was puſhed on with great vigour by the French, during which they loſt five thouſand men. The garriſon did not loſe above one hundred out of three thouſand, their utmoſt number at firſt. They had all the honours of war allowed, and ſafe conduct to Gibraltar.

Upon the receiving the account of Byng's conduct, admiral Hawke had been diſpatched to take the ſquadron under his command, and relieve Mahone. It was known that Hawke would

would fight; and it is very probable the garriſon would have been relieved if he had been ſent at firſt. But the appointing him now had one good effect; it appeaſed the public murmurs. As people took great liberties with ſome characters, it was neceſſary to appeaſe their reſentment by making ſacrifices. Accordingly admiral Hawke was ordered to ſend Byng home, and lord Tyrawley was ſent with the admiral to ſuperſede general Fowke in his government of Gibraltar.

The admiral when he arrived off Minorca found it was taken, and the French fleet retired to Toulon. He cruiſed about, with no litttle vexation, for ſome time, and ſuffered conſiderably from tempeſtuous weather, while the enemy's navy lay ſafe in their own harbour, and France was ringing with extravagant encomiums on the conquerors of Minorca.

When admiral Byng arrived in England he was ordered under a ſtrong guard to Greenwich hoſpital, where he was confined till officers could be ſpared from the Mediterranean to attend his tryal by a court martial. On the other hand, general Blakeny, when he arrived at London, met with a gracious reception at court, and was created an Iriſh baron. Some envious ſtrictures paſſed on his conduct, which were treated by the public with contempt, as his character in the ſervice had been long eſtabliſhed. Beſides his age and infirmities pleaded ſtrongly for their indulgence, eſpecially when it was conſidered, that he had ſuffered, under many diſcouragements, the hardſhips of a ſiege, while ſo many were abſent from their poſts, and too little concerned for the honour of their country. The public might on theſe accounts be led to patronize the governor, the bravery of whoſe conduct was echoed through the nation; as was Byng's cowardice and bad conduct. There was ſomething in his character ſo oppoſite to that of a tar, that he was ſure to ſuffer in the public eſteem, as the general was to be a gainer, when their behaviour came to be compared. A queſtion which mr. Byng aſked on his tryal, will confirm this parallel. It was to this effect, "Whether entering the harbour of Mahone, in order to land what reinforcements he had on board, for the relief of St. Philips, would not have been dangerous?" Upon which the old general replyed, "That he had ſeen much ſervice in his time, but knew of none in which there was not danger to be apprehended." A reply which at once does honour to his memory, and ſerves to mark his military character; as the admiral's query betrayed a weakneſs of the head as well as want of courage.

The people being uneaſy at this time, addreſſes were brought from all parts of the kingdom, lamenting the late miſcarriages,

praying, that the authors might be brought to juſtice, and hinting at the miniſtry's bad conduct in not ſending timely and effectual ſuccours to Minorca.

Till admiral Byng's tryal could come on, it was neceſſary to appeaſe the public ferment by a ſacrifice of ſome kind or other. General Fowke was the deſtined victim, although his conduct and integrity in the public ſervice, as well as his amiable private character, had hitherto diſtinguiſhed him as a man of worth and honour. He did not ſeem ſingled out as the object of private pique in the miniſtry, or the people's reſentment; but it was the general's misfortune to receive orders which contradicted each other, and at the ſame time ſeemed to leave a diſcretionary power. The reader will ſee this by comparing the orders, which are inſerted entire for that purpoſe, in the following letters.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his abſence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majeſty's garriſon of Gibraltar.

SIR, War-Office, March 21, 1756.

I AM commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you receive into your garriſon lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there: And in caſe you ſhall apprehend, that the French threaten to make any attempt upon his Majeſty's iſland of Minorca, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garriſon, equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, ſuch lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldeſt in your garriſon, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, at the diſpoſition of the admiral.

I am, SIR, your humble Servant, BARRINGTON.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, &c.

SIR, War-Office, April 1, 1756.

IT is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you receive into your garriſon the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, &c.

SIR, War-Office, May 12, 1756.

I Wrote to you by general Stewart, *if* that order is *not* complied with, *then* you are now to make a detachment of ſeven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guiſe's; and alſo another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and ſend them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But *if* that order *has* been complied with, *then* you

are

are to make only one detachment of ſeven hundred men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to ſend it to Mahon; and you are alſo to detain all ſuch empty veſſels as ſhall come into your harbour, and keep them in readineſs *for any farther tranſportation of troops*. I have alſo his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland's commands to deſire, that you will keep your garriſon as alert as poſſible, during this *critical time*, and give ſuch *other aſſiſtance* as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or *endanger* your garriſon.

Theſe letters general Fowke received at one and the ſame time from the ſame hand. The third order, not mentioning that it ſet aſide the firſt, left it in full force. The word *if* at the beginning, and other parts of the laſt letter, ſeemed to imply that the other order was diſcretionary. Upon the whole, the general thought them inconſiſtent, and called a council of war, not to deliberate whether he ſhould obey them, but how he ſhould underſtand them. By the firſt letter lord Robert Bertie's regiment was ordered into garriſon; by the ſecond general Fowke was to receive the wives and children, who might well be ſuppoſed to diſembark with the regiment; except it intended that the governor ſhould conclude from hence that the regiment ſhould continue on board for the relief of St. Philip's, and the uſeleſs mouths ſtay behind. Agreeable to this, the third order ſuppoſes that regiment to be on board. The query then was, whether a detachment, equal to a battalion, was to embark together with the corps on board for the relief of St. Phillip's, or a detachment only, and take lord Robert Bertie's into garriſon. It is to be conſidered that after two hundred and ſeventy-five men had been ſpared to ſtrengthen captain Edgecumbe, the whole garriſon amounted but to two thouſand five hundred and thirty-one men, and the ordinary duty required eight hundred and thirty-nine. Theſe were not ſufficient for three reliefs, and this too at a time when the order ſuppoſed Gibraltar in danger. This determined the council of war to ſend no troops to the relief of Minorca. But, ſuppoſing the orders poſitive, if he had ſent ſeven hundred men according to the firſt, and the ſame number according to the third, what would he have had left for the defence of Gibraltar? And what could be the meaning of that order to detain all empty veſſels for the further tranſportation of troops? Unleſs he was to embark the whole garriſon and abandon the place?

General Fowke alledged theſe inconſiſtences on his tryal, and the diſcretionary power implied. The court was divided equally whether to acquit or condemn him; and the preſident, who, in ſuch caſe, has the caſting voice, gave it againſt him. His ſentence was to be ſuſpended for a year from his Majeſty's ſervice. This might be a well-timed ſeverity; for after all, ſuppoſing he had a diſcretionary power and orders to detach more than what ſeemed conſiſtent with the preſent ſtate of his garriſon, he ought to have ſent ſome relief; as Minorca was actually beſieged, and troops could ſooner be re-placed at Gibraltar, than forwarded to St. Philip's from England.

Tho' it was not pretended that any part of our national diſgrace was owing to this neglect, the King, being chagrined with ſo many blunders, diſmiſſed the general entirely from his ſervice; but his preſent Majeſty has graciouſly reſtored him to his former rank in the army.

Admiral Byng's tryal could not come on till late in the year, of which we ſhall take notice in due courſe. In the mean time let us look back to the war in Aſia, where hoſtilitſes had commenced between the Eaſt-India companies of both nations, before the two crowns were engaged. Theſe they were drawn into by taking different ſides in the diſputes of the natives on the coaſt of Coromandel.

This is an extenſive territory, ſituated between the tenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude, bounded on the north, by the kingdom of Golconda; on the eaſt, by the bay of Bengal; on the ſouth, by the principalities of Marivia and Madura; and by the kingdom of Biſnagar Proper, on the weſt. It was formerly ſubject to the great Mogul, and ſtill properly makes a part of his empire; but he was ſo weakened during his wars with the famous Kouli Khan, that he has not ſince been able to aſſert his ſovereignty over this country; and, by reaſon of it's great diſtance from his capital, he appoints deputies, or, as they are here called, Nabobs, to govern the provinces of this remote territory. Theſe they hold under vaſſalage, paying tribute to him, and doing homage for their ſeveral goverments; but they have almoſt grown independent, and frequently make war with one another without conſulting the Mogul. In theſe diſputes the European nations are often concerned; for the Nabobs, whenever they go to war with one another, requeſt the aſſiſtance of ſuch as are ſettled neareſt their dominions; and though they have the Mogul's conſent to trade and make ſettlements here, they cannot be well ſecured without courting the friendſhip of theſe petty ſovereigns, to whoſe diſputes the war in thoſe parts took it's riſe.

In

In the year 1749, a depoſed Nabob formed a conſpiracy to cut off his rival, who had been made Suba or Deputy of Arcot, by the Mogul, after the other had been depoſed to make way for him. This was Sundah Saheb, who, with his allies, had recourſe to m. Dupleiux, the French governor of Pondicherry, to aſſiſt in this enterprize. He, on their making a ceſſion of Velure and it's dependencies, of forty-five villages, ſituated near Pondicherry, aſſiſted them, and Anawedi Khan was defeated and ſlain, in July this year, on the plains of Arcot, and Sundah Saheb reinſtated in the government of that Province.

After the battle Mahommed Ali Khan, ſon of the late Nabob, fled to Tiruchinapalli, a place of ſtrength to the ſouthward, where he ſupplicated aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, who, in commiſeration of his diſtreſs and partly in gratitude to his father, ſent him a ſupply of men, money, and ammunition, under the direction of major Lawrence, an officer of known experience and valour. In conſequence of this ſupply ſome advantages were gained over the enemy, who retreated; but nothing of importance was effected.

Soon after Mahommed Ali Khan went in perſon to Fort St. David, ſoliciting more powerful ſuccours. He alledged that his intereſt and that of the Engliſh was the ſame, inſomuch, that if their enemies were ſuffered to proceed in their conqueſts, they would be obliged to quit the whole coaſt; and it ſeemed indeed as if the French were meditating a plan to extirpate our people. Upon this a ſtrong reinforcement was ſent under captain Cope. Nothing material however was attempted, and the Engliſh withdrawing their auxiliaries, the French with Sundah Saheb fell upon the unfortunate prince at the head of his little army, and gained a compleat victory. Thus Mahommed Ali Khan finding himſelf unable to withſtand the French forces and thoſe of Sundah Saheb united, once more retired to Tiruchinapalli, and, in the moſt preſſing terms, again ſolicited aid from the Engliſh. That this might the more readily be granted, he ceded to them ſome commercial points which had been long in diſpute. They, in return, entered into a treaty of alliance with him, promiſing to aſſiſt him with all their force. Upon this captain Gingen, a Swiſs officer in the company's ſervice, was diſpatched on the 5th of April, 1751, with four hundred Europeans and a large train of artillery, to watch the motions of the enemy. At the ſame time captain Cope was ſent to put the ſtrong poſt of Tiruchinapalli into a good ſtate of defence.

At Volconda, about ſeventy miles from Fort St. David, the two armies came in ſight of each other, and continued in that ſituation

ſtation for ſome time; during which captain Gingen did all in his power to bring on an engagement, but could not effect it. However frequent ſkirmiſhes happened, and thoſe commonly ended to the advantage of our company's troops and thoſe of their Indian allies. At length the Indian governor of Volconda declaring for the French, obliged captain Gingen to break up his camp and take ſhelter under the walls of Tiruchinapalli. The enemy followed with all the expedition poſſible, and menaced that place with a ſiege; but either they wanted ſpirit to proſecute their deſign, or their force was inſufficient to puſh it with vigour, ſo that it came to nothing.

About this time mr. Clive came upon the ſtage, and ſoon changed the face of the company's affairs. He had lately accepted the office of purveyor to the army; but on hearing it was propoſed at St. David's to make a diverſion in the province of Arcot, he offered to ſerve as a volunteer, without pay, if the command of the troops deſtined for that expedition might be given to him. Accordingly on the 22d of Auguſt, 1751, he embarked with one hundred and thirty Europeans, on board the Wager Eaſt-Indiaman, for Madraſs. Here he was joined by eighty more. With this ſmall force he marched acroſs the country and took poſſeſſion of Arcot without oppoſition. The principal inhabitants expecting to be plundered, offered him a conſiderable ſum to ſpare their city, which he generouſly refuſed, at the ſame time iſſuing a proclamation, that ſuch as choſe to ſtay ſhould receive no injury, and the reſt might have free leave to depart with their effects of all kinds, except proviſions, for which he promiſed to pay the full value. By this prudent behaviour he entirely gained their confidence, and they afterwards contributed not a little to his ſucceſs.

Such was the ſecrecy and diſpatch with which this bold enterprize was executed, that the enemy's firſt intimation of it, was mr. Clive's being in poſſeſſion of their capital. Sundah Saheb immediately detached his ſon, with a conſiderable force from his army, at that time before Tiruchinapalli. The people who had left the city, hearing of theſe motions, gratefully turned back, and gave the moſt exact account of all the enemy's deſigns; ſo that mr. Clive had time to put himſelf in a poſture of defence and prepare for a vigorous reſiſtance. About the middle of September, 1751, the enemy appeared; and by the 24th, the place was compleatly inveſted. The operations commenced, and the ſiege was carried on under the direction of European engineers; but a fortnight farther was elapſed before they could effect a breach. By the 13th of October

they

they had made two pretty conſiderable ones; but ſuch was their indolence, that when they were prepared to ſtorm mr. Clive had filled and repaired them ſo effectually, that they were as ſtrong as any part of the walls. Notwithſtanding this they reſolved to attack both breaches and one of the gates at the ſame time. This they propoſed to force open with elephants. Mr. Clive, having received intelligence of the time when the aſſault would be given, had ſo well provided againſt it with maſked batteries, that he repulſed them with great ſlaughter on all ſides, eſpecially at the breaches, from which few of the aſſailants returned alive. On their repulſe, mr. Clive made a bold and well-conducted ſally, which did the enemy conſiderable miſchief; and the day after captain Kirkpatrick arrived with a party of Europeans, and two thouſand Maharattas. Immediately on his appearance the ſiege was rais'd, and the enemy retired with the greateſt precipitation, leaving all their artillery behind and moſt of their baggage.

Captain Kirkpatrick, with his Europeans, were left in Arcot, while mr. Clive, with his men, reinforced by the Indians, marched in purſuit of the enemy. They had taken their rout northward, having reached the plains of Arani when he overtook them. Theſe plains were diſtant about one hundred and fifty miles from our poſt at Tiruchinapalli. On the 3d of December, 1751, about noon, both armies prepared to engage. Mr. Clive, at the head of the Engliſh, began the attack, with ſuch impetuoſity, that Sundah Saheb's troops were not able to ſtand the ſhock; but, by reaſon of their ſuperiority in numbers, the battle was fought with great obſtinacy for the ſpace of five hours; at the end of which victory declared for mr. Clive, and the Nabob's forces were totally routed. This victory was obtained at a trifling expence; for our whole loſs, in Europeans, did not exceed twenty men; that of the Indians is ſeldom taken notice of. Next day the city of Arani ſurrendered, and ſoon after, that of Kajevaran. Such were the effects of a battle, which ſtruck terror into the enemy and the country round, ſo that it might be ſaid to ſubmit rather thro' a dread of the conqueror than the force of his arms. The enemy being now diſperſed, mr. Clive returned in triumph to Fort St. David.

Here he had not reſided many months before orders came for him to take the field again. For the enemy, on hearing that he was retired, drew together what force they were able to collect, and advanced to a place called the Mount, about nine miles from Madraſs. Here the gentlemen of the factory had

had their country ſeats, which the enemy had juſt begun to plunder when they received notice of mr. Clive's approach. His very name was already ſufficient to terrify their troops and put a ſtop to their depredations. They made a precipitate retreat, but took a ſudden reſolution of ſurprizing Arcot, which m. Duplieux had informed them was only garriſoned with twenty men and a ſerjeant. Mr. Clive ſaw their intention, and, being reinforced with one hundred and ſixty men from Bengal, followed cloſe at their heels, ſo that they were forced to abandon their deſign and to encamp, for the preſent, at Koverypauk, till hearing their intelligence was falſe concerning the garriſon of Arcot, they reſolved to give the Engliſh battle. On collecting their force for that purpoſe, it amounted to near three hundred men, with eight pieces of cannon; whereas mr. Clive's did not make one third of that number. The enemy quitted their intrenchments on the firſt of March, 1752, and advancing to the attack, took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground on the right, with fifty Europeans. Their front conſiſted of fifteen hundred Seapoys, with one hundred and thirty French. The left was compoſed of fifteen hundred horſe. Such was their numbers and thus ſituated, when mr. Clive advanced to the attack within puſh of bayonet, having reſerved his fire till that time, when ſuch execution followed, that the enemy, in deſpair of keeping the field, retreated to their intrenchments. Mr. Clive attacked them with great reſolution, but without ſucceſs. At length, when it was almoſt dark, while the victory remained doubtful, from the rawneſs of our troops, unuſed to the attack of intrenchments, he very happily thought of an expedient which anſwered his expectation, & gave him the victory. This was executed by ſending a detachment round, to fall upon the rear of their battery. The deſign ſucceeded beyond his moſt ſanguine expectation, being executed with as much reſolution as it was conducted with ſkill. The Engliſh entered with bayonets fixed, and firing a platoon, ſo diſconcerted the enemy, that their right wing to a man ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, while the left thought themſelves happy to eſcape under cover of the night. This battery had been defended by forty-eight Europeans, fourteen Topaſſes or Portugueze, natives of this country, and a body of Indians. The greateſt part of theſe were killed and the reſt taken priſoners. The victors took eight pieces of cannon, nine tumbrels of powder, and one hundred and eighty ſtand of arms. All theſe advantages were gained with the loſs of only twenty-ſeven men killed and wounded. This victory proved ſuch a deciſive blow to the enemy, that they were not able any more to make head in the province of Arcot.

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The brave and fortunate captain Clive, (for notwithſtanding theſe ſignal inſtances of generalſhip he was no more) had now fulfilled his orders, and prepared for his return to Fort St. David. He arrived there on the 11th of March, and found major Lawrence juſt arrived from England, ready to to take the command as the ſuperior officer.

On the 17th of the ſame month they ſet out together, at the head of four thouſand Europeans and one thouſand ſeapoys, well furniſhed with proviſions for the relief of captain Gingen, who had been blocked up ſince laſt year at Tiruchinapalli, by a ſtrong party of Sundah Saheb's troops. They proceeded without interruption till the 23d, when coming near Koyl-Addi, they found a ſtrong party of the French, who had thrown up an intrenchment with a view to ſtop their march. The two parties cannonaded each other, but without any conſiderable execution on either ſide. The Engliſh now continued their march, and the enemy laid an ambuſcade to intercept them; but it was prevented by the vigilance of major Lawrence, who with the convoy and all the troops arrived at Tiruchinapalli in full ſpirits.

The enemy, having notice of his approach, abandoned the blockade, and mr. Lawrence, having heard that they were retreating with all ſpeed to Pondicherry, detached captain Clive with four hundred Europeans, a party of Maharatta horſe and ſome Seapoys, to cut off their retreat. The captain diſlodged a ſtrong body of Indians which had taken poſt at Sameaverem, a fort and pagoda, or Indian temple, ſituated on the river Kalderon. Upon this Sundah Saheb threw himſelf with thirty thouſand men into Syrinhaman, an iſland formed by a branch of the Kalderon. The French at Pondicherry were no ſooner certified of theſe tranſactions, than they ſent the count d'Antevil with a ſtrong party to the Nabob's aſſiſtance. He had by this time advanced to Utatur, about twenty miles north from Syrinhaman, where mr. Clive went to give him battle, but the French commander thought proper to retire. Upon this mr. Clive returned, and though much fatigued, he immediately inveſted the fortified temple. The commanding officer and ſeveral others, attempting to force their way at one of the gates, were killed, and the reſt ſurrendered, to the amount of ſixty-ſix Europeans and a conſiderable number of Seapoys. He proceeded to reduce another of theſe eccleſiaſtical fortreſſes, much ſtronger than the firſt; which he was obliged to attempt by regular approaches. The enemy ſoon hung out a white flag as a ſignal to capitulate, juſt when mr. Clive advanced to ſtorm a breach which had been made. Our In-

dian troops ignorant of what was meant by the flag, mounted the breach, and puſhed on the attack, which ſo terrified the garriſon that twenty-four French threw themſelves into the river, and all periſhed except four; an accident neither the captain's activity nor his humanity could prevent. The remainder, conſiſting of ſeventy-two men and three officers, were made priſoners. Theſe officers made great complaints that their flag had not been regarded; yet certain it is, that the captain's clemency ſaved them all from being cut to pieces in the heat of the action. To this imputation m. Duplieux added another, that mr. Clive had treated the French in general with contempt: but this was diſproved by the accounts of the very priſoners themſelves.

After the reduction of this place, mr. Clive marched for Golconda, where he was told d'Antevil had retreated. He arrived there on the 31ſt of May, 1752, in one day's march and a half. D'Antevil had choſe an advantageous ſituation with great precaution, and intrenched himſelf for more ſecurity. Some Maharatta horſe were ordered to attack the town immediately, which they did ſo effectually as to drive the French out in confuſion, obliging them to abandon their cannon. In the mean time mr. Clive forced the intrenchments with a terrible ſlaughter; but being unwilling to deſtroy them entirely, ſent out a flag of truce himſelf, on which a capitulation was agreed on, and d'Antevil, with three other officers, were to be priſoners at large on their parole of honour, for one year. The troops were likewiſe made priſoners till regularly exchanged, but the money and ſtores were delivered to the late Nabob's ſon, whom we ſupported in his pretenſions to ſucceed his father.

During theſe ſucceſſes major Lawrence marched to Syrinhaman, to reduce Sundah Saheb. He had for this purpoſe all the troops which were left at Tiruchinapalli, with a good body of Indians, ſent by the Nabob of Tanjour, who had now taken part with Ali Khan. The iſland was ſo effectually blockaded, that Sundah Saheb's proviſions were exhauſted, and his men reduced to the laſt extremity for a ſupply. In this emergency he attempted to corrupt Mona Ji, general of the Tanjour forces, who pretended to connive at his eſcape; but that officer no ſooner had him in his power than he ſecured him, and the Nabob of Tanjour ordered his head to be ſtruck off and expoſed in the camp. This happened on the ſame day that captain Clive took Golconda. On the third day of June mr. Law, who commanded in Syrinhaman, ſurrendered himſelf, with all his European troops and the Indian allies, priſoners of war.

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There were found in the iſland forty pieces of battering cannon, ten mortars, and a quantity of warlike ſtores.

This train of ſucceſſes ſecured to Mohammed Ali Khan the government of Arcot, and obliged m. Duplieux to recall his regulars from the Indian army, in order to act upon the defenſive. Since the French found all their projects baffled, they now ſued for a peace, which the Nabob of Arcot was inclinable to grant, provided it was to the ſatisfaction of his Engliſh allies. Peace, though deſireable to both ſides, did not however take place, but a truce enſued by a ceſſation of hoſtilities; and advice having been tranſmitted to the French Eaſt India company of theſe diſaſters, they, in 1753, ſent m. Duvelar, as commiſſary, to reſtore peace; in conſequence of which a convention was concluded, whereby it was ſtipulated, that the two companies ſhould reciprocally reſtore the territories taken by their troops on either ſide ſince 1748, except certain diſtricts which the Engliſh retained for the conveniency of their traffic. It was likewiſe agreed, that the Nabobs advanced by the influence of either ſhould be acknowledged by both, and for the future neither ſhould interfere with the diſputes which might ariſe among the princes of that country. Major Lawrence having the ſole command of the troops, mr. Clive was at liberty to reviſit his native country, and for this he prepared; but our Indian allies could ſcarce bear the thoughts of parting with him. They conſidered themſelves as indebted to him for the preſervation of their territories and effects. They regarded him as a father; while his heroic actions, military ſkill and activity, joined to great modeſty and humanity, made them almoſt deify him. The Mogul ſolicited him to enter into his ſervice, with an offer of great advantages; but all this could not make him ſacrifice that regard for his country which hitherto had been uppermoſt. He ſet ſail for England in a ſhort time after the peace was agreed on between the companies. On the 10th of November, 1753, he arrived at Plymouth, from whence he proceeded to London; and having waited on the Eaſt-India company with an account of his tranſactions for their ſervice, he was preſented by the chairman with a very rich ſword ſet with diamonds. For this honourable mark of their gratitude he politely returned thanks, aſſuring the company of his ſervice whenever it ſhould be required for the future; and he effectually fulfilled his promiſe. For ſix months had ſcarce elapſed, ſince his departure, before hoſtilities were recommenced between the two companies, who from auxiliaries ſeem now to have become principals.

Mr. Clive's preſence was now wanting; for major Lawrence was far from being popular in that country: He was of a haughty and auſtere diſpoſition, though in other reſpects an officer of experience, reſolution and conduct. He gained ſome advantages over the enemy, and one of conſequence, in September 1753, near Tiruchinapalli, where he was encamped. Here the French offered him battle, which he accepted, and gave them a total defeat. The action was ſhort, and with little loſs on our ſide; while that of the enemy amounted to ſix hundred men killed, wounded and priſoners, together with ten pieces of cannon, which fell into our hands. Soon after there was another ſkirmiſh, in which we were worſted. Upon advice of theſe tranſactions the Eaſt India company ſolicited mr. Clive's ſervice again; and he ſet ſail for that country in the quality of governor of Fort St. David.

Major Lawrence repaired what little damage he had ſuſtained, and proceeded to act with vigour. He obtained divers advantages, which in all probability would have terminated the war to his ſatisfaction; for a treaty was on foot, when it was interrupted by the ſtarting up of a new enemy, who took part with the French againſt our India company.

This was the Nabob of Bengal, or more properly, Suba of the three provinces, Bengal, Bahir and Orixa. He had but lately aſpired to this dignity, which he obtained by a fortunate boldneſs. Of a fickle and inconſtant diſpoſition, both in the adminiſtration of his government and with reſpect to his favourites; deſtitute of principle and void of ſentiment; diſliking without a cauſe, and adding cruelty to his hatred; but his prevailing paſſion was avarice. This thirſt of heaping up riches was encouraged by ſome of his courtiers, who were either afraid of him or ſolicitous of being in his favour. They hinted, that the Engliſh ſettled in his dominions were immenſely rich; that he might, under colour of granting them favour and protection, extort large ſums from them; and, that in caſe of refuſal he had force ſufficient to cruſh them. Animated by this advice he reſolved to attack the Engliſh, though, at this time, they had not given the leaſt affront nor ſhewn the leaſt diſlike to his perſon or government. It was ſufficient with him that they were accounted rich. On the 4th of June, 1756, he ſeized the little town of Caſſimbuzar, on the Ganges, at a ſmall diſtance from Muxadavad, his capital. Here he declared his deſign to extirpate the Engliſh, and with this view began his march along the banks of the river to Calcutta, which is the principal Engliſh ſettlement there. To colour his pretenſions he gave out, that the governor, mr.

mr. Drake, had protected one of his ſubjects whom he had outlawed for conſpiracy againſt him. We ſhall not enter into the merits of this pretence; it is ſufficient to remark that he appeared before Fort William, at Calcutta, with an army of 70,000 men, a force not likely to be aſſembled on account of a fugitive. The governor, terrified at the appearance of ſuch an army, and, unfortunately for the garriſon, being one of the people called quakers, could not in conſcience make any reſiſtance, but abandoned the fort, with many of the principal perſons in that ſettlement, who ſaved themſelves and their moſt valuable effects on board the ſhips. Notwithſtanding this deſertion, mr. Holwell, the ſecond in command, aſſiſted by a few faithful friends, and the remains of a feeble garriſon, bravely held out to the laſt extremity. On the 20th of June the fort was taken, and the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, being made priſoners, they were for that night crammed into a cloſe dungeon, called the Black-hole, where twenty-three only eſcaped being ſuffocated in one night's confinement. Mr. Holwell was among thoſe who came out alive. The following letter, wrote by him, contains circumſtances of as great diſtreſs, and as much cruelty, as perhaps human nature ever ſuffered. It gives a minute detail of this ſhocking barbarity, which muſt neceſſarily excite pity in the breaſts of the moſt obdurate.

A Letter from J. Z. HOLWELL, *Eſq; to* WILLIAM DAVIS, *Eſq;*

DEAR SIR,

THE confuſion which the late capture of the Eaſt-India company's ſettlements in Bengal, muſt neceſſarily excite in the city of London, will, I fear, be not a little heightened by the miſerable deaths of the greateſt part of thoſe gentlemen, who were reduced to the ſad neceſſity of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners at diſcretion in Fort William, (the Engliſh fort at Calcutta.)

By narratives made public, you will only know, that of one hundred and forty-ſix priſoners, one hundred and twenty-three were ſmothered in the Black-hole priſon, in the night of the 20th of June, 1756. Few ſurvived, capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of theſe, I believe none have attempted it: for my own part, I have often ſat down with this reſolution, and as often relinquiſhed the melancholy taſk; not only from the diſturbance and affliction it raiſed afreſh in my remembrance, but from the conſideration of

of the impoſſibility of finding language capable of raiſing adequate ideas of the horrors of the ſcene I eſſay to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it, in any degree or proportion, to all the diſmal circumſtances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in a great meaſure, recovered from the injuries they ſuffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion; though ſtill conſcious, that however high the colouring my retentive memory may ſupply, it will fall infinitely ſhort of the horrors accompanying this ſcene. Theſe defects muſt, and I doubt not, will be aſſiſted by your own humane and benevolent imagination; in the exerciſe of which, I never knew you deficient, where unmerited diſtreſs was the object.

The ſea air has already had that ſalutary effect on my conſtitution I expected; and my mind enjoys a calm it has been many months a ſtranger to; ſtrengthened by a clear, chearful ſky and atmoſphere, joined to an unuſal pleaſant gale, with which we are paſſing the equinoctial. I can now therefore look back with leſs agitation on the dreadful night I am going to deſcribe, and with a grateful heart ſincerely acknowledge, and deeply revere that Providence, which alone could have preſerved me thro' that, and all my ſucceeding ſufferings and hazards.

Before I conduct you into the Black-hole, it is neceſſary you ſhould be acquainted with a few introductory circumſtances. The Suba [Salajud-Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, Bahir, and Orixa] and his troops were in poſſeſſion of the fort before ſix in the evening. I had, in all, three interviews: The laſt in Dunbar [in council] before ſeven, when he repeated his aſſurances to me, on the word of a ſoldier, that no harm ſhould come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we ſhould for that night be ſecured; and that what followed, was the reſult of revenge and reſentment, in the breaſts of the lower Jemmautdaars, [an officer of the rank of ſerjeant] to whoſe cuſtody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the ſiege. Be this at it may, as ſoon as it was dark, we were all, without diſtinction, directed by the guard over us, to collect ourſelves into one body, and ſit down quietly under the arched veranda or piazza, to the weſt of the Black-hole priſon, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and juſt over againſt the windows of the governor's eaſterly apartments. Beſides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the ſtairs at the ſouth end of this veranda, leading up to the ſouth-eaſt baſtion, to prevent any of us eſcaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-

twenty-four pounders ſtood) were alſo drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches,

At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the armory and laboratory; to the left the carpenter's yard: though at this we imagined it was the cotta warehouſes [the company's cloth warehouſes]. Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both ſides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended ſuffocating us between the two fires: And this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour paſt ſeven, of ſome officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the eaſterly curtain to the right of us, to which we apprehended they were ſetting fire, to expedite their ſcheme of burning us. On this we preſently came to a reſolution, of ruſhing on the guard, ſeizing their ſcymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather then be thus tamely roaſted to death. But to be ſatisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the requeſt of meſſrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revely, to ſee if they were really ſetting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only ſearching for a place to confine us in; the laſt they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

Here I muſt detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many inſtances been a friend; and who on this occaſion, demonſtrated his ſenſibility of it in a degree worthy of much higher rank. His name was Leech, the company's ſmith, as well as the clerk of the pariſh: This man had made his eſcape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned juſt as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would inſure my eſcape, if I would follow him through a paſſage few were acquainted with, and by which he then entered. (This might eaſily have been accompliſhed, as the guard put over us took but very little notice of us.) I thanked him in the beſt terms I was able, but told him, it was a ſtep I could not prevail on myſelf to take, as I ſhould thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garriſon had ſhewn to me; and that I was reſolved to ſhare their fate, be it what it would; but preſſed him to ſecure his own eſcape without loſs of time. To which he gallantly replied, *That then he was reſolved to ſhare mine, and would not leave me.*

To myſelf and the world I ſhould ſurely have ſtood excuſed in embracing the overture abovementioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed; for I had ſcarce time to make him an anſwer, before we obſerved part of the guard drawn

drawn up on the parade advance to us, with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to riſe, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the ſoldiers to ſleep on, and are open to the weſt by arches and a ſmall parapet wall, correſponding to the arches of the veranda without. In we went moſt readily, and were pleaſing ourſelves with the proſpect of paſſing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reſerve for us. For we were no ſooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and, with their muſkets preſented, ordered us to go into the room at the ſouthermoſt end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-hole priſon; whilſt others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn ſcymiters, preſſed upon thoſe of us next to them. This ſtroke was ſo ſudden, ſo unexpected, and the throng and preſſure ſo great upon us next the door of the Black-hole priſon, there was no reſiſting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the reſt followed like a torrent, few amongſt us, excepting the ſoldiers, having the leaſt idea of the dimenſions or nature of a place we had never ſeen: For if we had, we ſhould at all events have ruſhed upon the guard, and been, as the leſſer evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongſt the firſt that entred, were myſelf, meſſrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, enſign Scot, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got poſſeſſion of the window neareſt the door, and took meſſrs. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the firſt I believe mortally.) The reſt of the abovementioned gentlemen were cloſe round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourſelf, my friend, if poſſible, the ſituation of a hundred and forty-ſix wretches, exhauſted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a cloſe ſultry night, in Bengal, ſhut up to the eaſtward and ſouthward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the weſtward by two windows ſtrongly barred with iron, from which we could receive ſcarce any the leaſt circulation of freſh air.

What muſt enſue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the inſtant I caſt my eyes round and ſaw the ſize and the ſituation of the room. Many unſucceſsful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitleſs.

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Obſerving every one giving way to the violence of paſſions, which I foreſaw muſt be fatal to them, I requeſted ſilence might be preſerved, whilſt I ſpoke to them, and in the moſt pathetic, and moving terms which occurred, "I begged and intreated, that as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now for their own ſakes, and the ſakes of thoſe who were dear to them, and were intereſted in the preſervation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I aſſured them the return of day would give us air and liberty; urged to them the only chance we had left for ſuſtaining this misfortune, and ſurviving the night, was the preſerving a calm mind and quiet reſignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as poſſible, every agitation of mind and body, as raving and giving a looſe to their paſſions could anſwer no purpoſe, but that of haſtening their deſtruction."

This remonſtrance produced a ſhort interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection; though even this pauſe was not a little diſturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window. Death, attended with the moſt cruel train of circumſtances, I plainly perceived muſt prove our inevitable deſtiny: I had ſeen this common migration in too many ſhapes, and accuſtomed myſelf to think on the ſubject with too much propriety to be alarmed at the proſpect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myſelf.

Amongſt the guards poſted at the windows, I obſerved an old Jemautdaar near me, who ſeemed to carry ſome compaſſion for us in his countenance; and indeed he was the only one of the many in his ſtation, who diſcovered the leaſt trace of humanity. I called him to me, and in the moſt perſuaſive terms I was capable of, urged him to commiſerate the ſufferings he was a witneſs to, and preſſed him to endeavour to get us ſeperated, half in one place, and half in the other; and that he ſhould receive a thouſand rupees for this act of tenderneſs. He promiſed he would attempt it, and withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impoſſible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promiſed him two thouſand; he withdrew a ſecond time, but returned ſoon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern) told me it was not practicable; that it could not be done but by the Suba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

During this interval, tho' their paſſions were leſs violent, their uneaſineſs increaſed. We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perſpiration ſo profuſe, you can form no idea of it. This conſequently brought on a ra-

ging thirſt, which ſtill increaſed, in proportion as the body was drained of its moiſture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths; this was approved, as a happy motion, and in a few minutes I believe every man was ſtripped (myſelf, mr. Court, and the two wounded young gentlemen by me excepted). For a little time they flattered themſelves with having gained a mighty advantage; every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie propoſed that every man ſhould ſit down on his hams: as they were truly in the ſituation of drowning wretches, no wonder they caught at every thing that bore a flattering appearance of ſaving them. This expedient was ſeveral times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whoſe ſtrength was leſs than others, or had been more exhauſted, and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to riſe, fell, to riſe no more! for they were inſtantly trod to death, or ſuffocated. When the whole body ſat down, they were ſo cloſely wedged together, that they were obliged to uſe many efforts, before they could put themſelves in motion to get up again.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirſt grew intolerable, and reſpiration difficult. Our ſituation was much more wretched than that of ſo many miſerable animals in an exhauſted receiver; no circulation of freſh air, ſufficient to continue life, nor yet enough diveſted of it's vivifying particles to put a ſpeedy period to it.

Efforts were again made to force the door, but in vain. Many inſults were uſed to the guard to provoke them to fire upon us (which as I learned afterwards, were carried to much greater lengths, when I was no more ſenſible of what was tranſacted). For my own part I hitherto felt little pain or uneaſineſs, but what reſulted from my anxiety for the ſufferings of thoſe within. By keeping my face between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs eaſy play, though my perſpiration was exceſſive, and thirſt commencing. At this period, ſo ſtrong a urinous, volatile effluvia came from the priſon, that I was not able to turn my head that way, for more than a few ſeconds at a time.

Now every body, excepting thoſe ſituated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious; "Water, Water," became the general cry. And the old Jemautdaar, before-mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring ſome ſkins of water, little dreaming, I believe,

lieve, of it's fatal effects. This was what I dreaded. I foreſaw it would prove the ruin of the ſmall chance left us, and eſſayed many times to ſpeak to him privately to forbid it's being brought; but the clamour was ſo loud it became impoſſible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the univerſal agitation and raving the ſight of it threw us into. I had flattered myſelf that ſome, by preſerving an equal temper of mind, might outlive the night; but now the reflection, which gave me the greateſt pain, was, that I ſaw no poſſibility of one eſcaping to tell the diſmal tale.

Until the water came, I had myſelf not ſuffered much from thirſt, which inſtantly grew exceſſive. We had no means of conveying it into the priſon, but by hats forced through the bars; and thus myſelf and meſſieurs Coates and Scot (notwithſtanding the pains they ſuffered from their wounds) ſupplied them as faſt as poſſible. But thoſe, who have experienced intenſe thirſt, or are acquainted with the cauſe and nature of this appetite, will be ſufficiently ſenſible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there enſued ſuch violent ſtruggles, and frequent conteſts to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be ſcarcely a ſmall tea-cup full left in them. Theſe ſupplies, like ſprinkling water on the fire, only ſerved to raiſe or feed the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how ſhall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of thoſe in the remoter parts of the priſon, who could not entertain the hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not diveſt themſelves of expectation, however unavailing! And others calling on me by the tender conſiderations of friendſhip and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me. Think, if poſſible, what my heart muſt have ſuffered at ſeeing and hearing their diſtreſs, without having it in my power to relieve them; for the confuſion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and preſs upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their paſſage from the further part of the room, preſſed thoſe down in the way who had leſs ſtrength, and trampled them to death.

Can it gain belief, that this ſcene of miſery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without? But ſo it was; and they took care to keep us ſupplied with water, that they might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing us fight for it, as they phraſed it, and held up lights to the bars, that they might loſe no part of the inhuman diverſion.

From about nine to near eleven I ſuſtained this cruel ſcene and painful ſituation, ſtill ſupplying them with water, though my legs were almoſt broke with the weight againſt them. By this time I myſelf was very near preſſed to death, and my two companions, with mr. William Parker (who had forced himſelf into the window) were really ſo.

For a great while they preſerved a reſpect and a regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumſtances conſidered; but now all diſtinction was loſt. My friend Baillie, meſſrs. Jenke, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simſon, and ſeveral others, for whom I had a real eſteem and affection, had for ſome time been dead at my feet; and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common ſoldier, who, by the help of more robuſt conſtitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held faſt by the bars over me, till at laſt I became ſo preſſed and wedged up, that I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the laſt inſtance of their regard, they would remove the preſſure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window to die quietly. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a paſſage into the center of the priſon, where the throng was leſs by the many dead (then I believe amounting to one third), and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water alſo at the other window.

In the Black-hole there is a platform [this platform was raiſed between three and four feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the eaſt ſide of the priſon, and was above ſix feet wide] correſponding with that in the barracks. I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, juſt oppoſite the other window, and ſeated myſelf on the platform between mr. Dumbleton and captain Stevenſon; the former juſt then expiring. I was ſtill happy in the ſame calmneſs of mind I had preſerved the whole time; death I expected as unavoidable, and only lamented it's ſlow approach, tho' the moment I quitted the window my breathing grew ſhort and painful.

Here my poor friend mr. Edward Eyre came ſtaggering over the dead to me, and with his uſual coolneſs and good-nature aſked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myſelf down on ſome of the dead behind me, on the platform, and recommending myſelf to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my ſufferings could have no long duration.

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My thirſt grew now inſupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increaſed; and I had not remained in this ſituation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was ſeized with a pain in my breaſt, and palpitation of the heart, both to the moſt exquiſite degree. Theſe rouſed and obliged me to get up again; but ſtill the pain, palpitation, thirſt, and difficulty of breathing increaſed. I retained my ſenſes notwithſtanding, and had the grief to ſee death not ſo near me as I hoped, but could no longer bear the pains I ſuffered, without attempting a relief, which I knew freſh air would and could only give me. I inſtantly determined to puſh for the window oppoſite to me; and by an effort of double the ſtrength I ever before poſſeſſed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand ſeized a bar, and by that means gained the ſecond, though I think there was at leaſt ſix or ſeven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceaſed; but my thirſt continued intolerable. I called aloud for "WATER FOR GOD'S SAKE;" I had been concluded dead; but as ſoon as they heard me amongſt them they had ſtill the reſpect and tenderneſs for me to cry out, "GIVE HIM WATER, GIVE HIM WATER!" nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I found no relief; my thirſt was rather increaſed by it; ſo I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event, and keep my mouth moiſt from time to time, by ſucking the perſpiration out of my ſhirt ſleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain from my head and face: You can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them eſcaped my mouth.

I came into the priſon without coat or waiſtcoat; the ſeaſon was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed me of it when we were under the veranda. Whilſt I was at this ſecond window, I was obſerved by one of my miſerable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirſt by ſucking my ſhirt ſleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a conſiderable part of my ſtore; though after I detected him, I had ever the addreſs to begin on that ſleeve firſt, when I thought my reſervoirs were ſufficiently repleniſhed, and our mouths and noſes often met in the conteſt. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman in the ſervice, mr. Luſhington, one of the few who eſcaped from death, and ſince paid me the compliment of aſſuring me, he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my ſleeves. I mention this incident, as I think nothing can give you a more lively idea of the melancholy

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ſtate and diſtreſs we were reduced to. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had, in an ungovernable fit of thirſt, attempted drinking my urine; but it was ſo intenſely bitter there was no enduring a ſecond taſte, whereas no Briſtol water could be more ſoft or pleaſant than what aroſe from perſpiration.

By half an hour after eleven the much greater number of thoſe living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmneſs but the ranks next the windows. By what I had felt myſelf, I was fully ſenſible what thoſe within ſuffered; but had only pity to beſtow upon them, not then thinking how ſoon I ſhould myſelf become a greater object of it.

They all found now that water inſtead of relieving rather heightened their uneaſineſſes; and "AIR, AIR," was the general cry. Every inſult that could be deviſed againſt the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuſe that the Suba, Monickchund, &c. [Rajah Monickchund, appointed by the Suba, governor of Calcutta] could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, ruſhing tumultuouſly towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the firſt ſhot: Then a gentle prayer to heaven, to haſten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us and put a period to our miſery. But theſe failing, they whoſe ſtrength and ſpirits were quite exhauſted, laid themſelves down and expired quietly upon their fellows; others, who had yet ſome ſtrength and vigour left, made a laſt effort for the windows, and ſeveral ſucceeded, by leaping and ſcrambling over the backs and heads of thoſe in the firſt ranks, and got hold of the bars from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left ſunk with the violent preſſure, and were ſoon ſuffocated; for now a ſteam aroſe from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumſtances, as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of ſtrong volatile ſpirit of hartſhorn, until ſuffocated; nor could the effluvia of the one be diſtinguiſhed from the other; and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and ſhoulders to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, inſtantly to raiſe it again to eſcape ſuffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, aſk your commiſeration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half an hour paſt eleven, till near two in the morning, I ſuſtained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees on my back, and the preſſure of his whole body on my head. A Dutch ſerjeant, who had taken his ſeat on my left ſhoulder, and a Topaz (a black chriſtian ſoldier, uſually

uſually termed ſubjects of Portugal) bearing on my right; all which nothing could have enabled me long to ſupport, but the props and preſſure equally ſuſtaining me all around. The two latter I frequently diſlodged, by ſhifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs; but my friend above ſtuck faſt, and, as he held by two bars, was immoveable.

When I had bore this conflict above an hour, with a train of wretched reflections, and ſeeing no glimpſe of hope, on which to found a proſpect of relief, my ſpirits, reſolution, and every ſentiment of religion gave way: I found I was unable much longer to ſupport this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the priſon, where I had before ſuffered ſo much. Some infernal ſpirit taking the advantage of this period, brought to my remembrance my having a ſmall claſp penknife in my pocket, with which I determined inſtantly to open my arteries, and finiſh a ſyſtem no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when heaven interpoſed, and reſtored me to freſh ſpirits and reſolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was juſt going to commit: I exerted anew my ſtrength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to diſlodge the inſufferable incumbrances upon me at laſt quite exhauſted me; and towards two o'clock, finding I muſt quit the window, or ſink where I was, I reſolved on the former, having bore, truly for the ſake of others, infinitely more for life than the beſt of it is worth.

In the rank cloſe behind me was an officer of one of the ſhips, whoſe name was Carey, and who had behaved with much bravery during the ſiege (his wife a fine woman, tho' country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the priſon, and was one who ſurvived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my ſtation. On my quitting, he made a fruitleſs attempt to get my place; but the Dutch ſerjeant, who ſat on my ſhoulder, ſupplanted him.

Poor Carey expreſſed his thankfulneſs, and ſaid he would give up life too; but it was with the utmoſt labour we forced our way from the window (ſeveral in the inner ranks appearing to me dead ſtanding, unable to fall by the throng and equal preſſure round.) He laid himſelf down to die, and his death, I believe, was very ſudden; for he was a ſhort, full, ſanguine man; his ſtrength was great, and I imagine, had he not retired with me, I ſhould never have been able to have forced my way.

I was

I was at this time ſenſible of no pain and little uneaſineſs; I can give you no better idea of my ſituation than by repeating my ſimile of the bowl of ſpirit of hartſhorn. I found a ſtupor coming on apace, and laid myſelf down by that gallant old man, the reverend mr. Jarvis Bellamy, who lay dead with his ſon the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the ſouthermoſt wall of the priſon.

When I had lain there ſome little time, I ſtill had reflection enough to ſuffer ſome uneaſineſs in the thought, that I ſhould be trampled upon when dead, as I myſelf had done to others. With ſome difficulty I raiſed myſelf, and gained the platform a ſecond time, where I preſently loſt all ſenſation; the laſt trace of ſenſibility that I have been able to recollect after my laying down, was my ſaſh being uneaſy about my waiſt, which I untied, and threw from me.

Of what paſſed in this interval, to the time of my reſurrection out of this hole of horrors, I can give you no account; and indeed the particulars mentioned by ſome of the gentlemen who ſurvived (ſolely by the number of thoſe dead, by which they gained a freer acceſſion of air, and approach to the windows) were ſo exceſſively abſurd and contradictory, as to convince me very few of them retained their ſenſes; or at leaſt loſt them ſoon after they came into the open air, by the fever they carried out with them.

In my own eſcape from abſolute death, the hand of heaven was manifeſtly exerted: The manner take as follows. When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to mr. ſecretary Cooke) to make a ſearch for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a releaſe from this ſcene of miſery. Accordingly meſſrs. Luſhington and Walcot undertook the ſearch, and by my ſhirt diſcovered me upon the dead under the platform. They took me from thence and imagining I had ſome ſigns of life, brought me toward the window I had firſt poſſeſſion of.

But as life was dear to every man (and the ſtench ariſing from the dead bodies was grown intolerable) no one would give up his ſtation in or near the window, ſo they were obliged to carry me back again; but ſoon after captain Mills (now captain of the company's yatch) who was in poſſeſſion of a ſeat in the window, had the humanity to offer to reſign it. I was again brought by the ſame gentlemen, and placed in the window.

At this juncture the Suba, who had received an account of the havoc death had made among us, ſent one of his Jemmautdaars

mautdaars to enquire if the chief ſurvived. They ſhewed me to him; told him I had the appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened ſoon. This anſwer being returned to the Suba, an order came immediately for our releaſe, it being then near ſix in the morning.

The freſh air at the window ſoon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemmautdaar, I was reſtored to my ſight and ſenſes. But oh! Sir, what words ſhall I adopt to tell you the whole that my ſoul ſuffered at reviewing the dreadful deſtruction round me? I will not attempt it; and indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I ſhall ever pay to the remembrance of this ſcene, and to the memory of thoſe brave and valuable men) ſtop my pen.

The little ſtrength remaining amongſt the moſt robuſt who ſurvived, made it a difficult taſk to remove the dead piled up againſt the door; ſo that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a paſſage out for one at a time.

I had ſoon reaſon to be convinced the particular enquiry made after me did not reſult from any dictate of favour, humanity, or contrition; when I came out, I found myſelf in a high putrid fever, and not being able to ſtand, threw myſelf on the wet graſs without the veranda, when a meſſage was brought me ſignifying I muſt immediately attend the Suba. Not being capable of walking, they were obliged to ſupport me under each arm, and on the way one of the Jemmautdaars told me, as a friend, to make a full confeſſion where the treaſure was buried in the fort, or that in half an hour I ſhould be ſhot off from the mouth of a cannon [a ſentence of death common in Indoſtan]. This intimation gave me no manner of concern, for at that juncture I ſhould have eſteemed death the greateſt favour the tyrant could have beſtowed upon me.

Being brought into his preſence, he ſoon obſerved the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to ſit on. I endeavoured two or three times to ſpeak, but my tongue was dry and without motion. He ordered me water. As ſoon as I got ſpeech, I begun to recount the diſmal cataſtrophe of my miſerable companions; but he ſtopt me ſhort, with telling me he was well informed of great treaſure buing buried, or ſecreted, in the fort, and that I was privy to it; and if I expected favour, muſt diſcover it.

I urged every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information, or that if any ſuch thing had been done it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated aſſurance to me the day before; but he reſumed the

ſubject of the treaſure, and all I could ſay ſeemed to gain no credit with him. I was ordered priſoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the houſhold troops.

Amongſt the guard which carried me from the Suba, one bore a large Moratta battle-axe, which gave riſe I imagine to mr. ſecretary Cooke's belief and report of the fleet, that he ſaw me carried out, with the edge of the axe towards me, to have my head ſtruck off. This I believe is the only acount you will have of me, until I bring you a better myſelf. But to reſume my ſubject: I was ordered to the camp to Mhir Muddon's quarters, within the outward ditch, ſomething ſhort of Omychund's garden (which you know is above three miles from the fort) and with me meſſieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet. The reſt who ſurvived the fatal night gained their liberty, except mrs. Carey, who was too young and handſome. The dead bodies were promiſcuouſly thrown into the ditch of our unfiniſhed ravelin, and covered with the earth.

My being treated with this ſeverity, I have ſufficient reaſon to affirm, proceeded from the following cauſes: The Suba's reſentment for defending the fort after the governor, &c. had abandoned it; his prepoſſeſſion towards the treaſure; and thirdly, the inſtigations of Omychund [a great Gentoo merchant of Calcutta] in reſentment for my not releaſing him out of priſon, as ſoon as I had the command of the fort; a circumſtance, which in the heat and hurry of action, never once occurred to me, or I had certainly done it, becauſe I thought his impriſonment unjuſt. But that the hard treatment I met with may truly be attributed in a great meaſure to his ſuggeſtions and inſinuations, I am well aſſured, from the whole of his ſubſequent conduct; and this was further confirmed to me in the three gentlemen ſelected to be my companions, againſt each of whom he had conceived particular reſentment; and you know Omychund can never forgive.

We were conveyed in a Hackery [a coach drawn by oxen] to the camp the twenty-firſt of June in the morning, and ſoon loaded with fetters, and ſtowed all four in a ſeapoy's tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high, ſo that we were half in, half out: All night it rained ſeverely. Diſmal as this was, it appeared a paradiſe compared to our lodging the preceding night. Here I became covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the firſt ſymptom of my recovery; for until theſe appeared, my fever did not leave me.

On the morning of the twenty-ſecond, they marched us to town in our fetters, under the ſcorching beams of an intenſe hot ſun, and lodged us at the dock-head, in the open ſmall veranda,

veranda, fronting the river, where we had a ſtrong guard over us, commanded by Bundo Sing Hazary, an officer under Mhir Muddon. Here the other gentlemen broke out likewiſe in boils all over their bodies; a happy circumſtance, which, I afterwards learned, attended every one who came out of the Black-hole."

J. Z. HOLWELL.

In this hole one hundred and twenty-three perſons were ſuffocated. The reſt (twenty-three) came out alive, and were conducted to Maxadabab the capital of Bengal, where they underwent another ſeries of miſeries: At length the Nabob of Bengal being convinced there actually was no treaſure at Calcutta, and his grandmother interpoſing in their behalf, he granted them their liberty. This loſs was ſeverely felt by the Eaſt-India company, as it was the principal ſettlement which they had in Bengal, and the fort the only ſecurity which they had to this valuable part of their trade. To retrieve theſe affairs admiral Watſon and colonel Clive were called with their forces from the coaſt of Coromandel, which they happily effected in the courſe of the following year.

We will now turn to the Britiſh affairs in America, where they wore as bad a complexion this year as laſt, partly owing to the miſchiefs and broils at home, and partly to the different opinions which influenced the aſſemblies of the ſeveral provinces; each was for attacking the enemy on his own frontiers, but not willing to aſſiſt his neighbour. The conduct of general Shirley had in England been declared dilatory, and conſidered as unſatisfactory; therefore it was determined to ſuperſede him, with another officer, and order him home; but theſe orders were not dated in London till the laſt day of March, and then the commander was but juſt appointed. Colonel Webb carried theſe diſpatches to America, and he was followed by general Abercrombie, who arrived at New-York on the 20th of June, with ſome troops; but the earl of Loudon, the commander in chief, did not arrive there before the 23d of July. Whether theſe delays muſt be imputed to a ſtate of anarchy at home, we know not; but it is certain they ruined the plan of operations, which were this year concerted for attacking fort Niagara, ſituated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louiſiana. The marquis de Vandrueil, governor of Canada, being informed of this ſcheme, was determined to fruſtrate it. He got exact intelligence of the ſtate and condition of Oſwego, which was ſituated on the lake Ontario, and the num-

ber of veſſels on the lake; this fort had been built by Mr. Shirley, in order to open and ſecure a paſſage to go and attack the French forts Niagara and Frontenac, and ſome veſſels which were built on the lake, were deſigned to tranſport the troops into the enemies territories; it was alſo deſigned for covering the Iroquois, and ſecuring the Indian trade, though in fact they were ſo corrupted by the French, that there was no longe any dependance on them. Vandrueil diſpatched the marquis de Montcalm, a cruel wretch, who delighted in the moſt horrid butcheries, and every act of wanton barbarity, with about three thouſand men, to reduce this fort. As ſoon as he arrived on the banks of the lake, he received intimation that the Engliſh were ſending a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and proviſions to the fort, and he ſent off a detachment of Indians to attack the convoy, which was commanded by captain Bradſtreet; but that officer received them ſo well as to render their efforts ineffectual to their loſs: From ſome priſoners, which he made on this occaſion, he learned the deſigns of the enemy, their numbers and poſition; an account of which he diſpatched to general Abercrombie at Albany; and this officer ordered colonel Webb to hold himſelf in readineſs to march to the relief of Oſwego. No other information arrived at Albany concerning Oſwego till it was taken; Bradſtreet having ſent the ſtores and proviſions into the fort, proceeded to Schenectady. Montcalm embarked his troops and cannon in boats, and croſſed over the lake, and on the 11th of Auguſt he appeared before Oſwego; the garriſon of which conſiſted of ſixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Mercer, an officer of approved bravery, and provided with one hundred pieces of cannon; but the fortifications of the place were not fit to reſiſt regular approaches, the materials being principally of timber, the defences badly contrived, and even unfiniſhed. Montcalm attacked it with thirty two pieces of cannon, and ſome mortars; and on the 13th colonel Mercer being killed, the garriſon fell into confuſion, the officers were divided in their opinions what to do, and on the 14th having conſidered that the place was untenable, they demanded a capitulation, and ſurrendered on condition of being treated with humanity, and ſent priſoners to Montreal. However, Montcalm did not obſerve this; he permitted his Indians to maſſacre the defenceleſs ſoldiers, as they ſtood on the parade; to aſſaſſinate lieutenant de la Court, though under the protection of a French officer; and barbarouſly to ſcalp all the ſick in the hoſpital; and finally, in direct violation of the articles, he delivered up twenty of the garriſon to the Indians, in lieu

of

of that number they had loſt during the ſiege, that they might be tortured to death, according to the cruel cuſtom of the country. The veſſels on the lake fell into the hands of the enemy; who, immediately after the ſurrender of the fort, demoliſhed it, and embarked with their priſoners and cannon for fort Frontenac. It has been mentioned that captain Bradſtreet ſent intelligence to general Abercrombie of the enemy's deſigns on Oſwego, and that mr. Webb was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs to march: This information arrived at Albany on the 12th of July; but general Webb did not leave that place, in order to proceed to Oſwego, till the 9th of Auguſt: On the 17th he received advice that the fort was taken, upon which he returned to Albany. The delay of this march was principally owing to the American governors: Before general Webb could be provided with neceſſaries, lord Loudon arrived at Albany, which was on the 29th of July, and the relief of Oſwego was the firſt object of his attention; but he was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the province of New-York and others, who urged the taking of Crown-Point, not ſo much for the ſecurity of their own frontiers, as to divert him from relieving Oſwego, which they hoped would fall, that they might have ſome appearance of reaſon for blaming general Shirley, who had always the ſecurity of it much at heart, though he reſigned his command on the 25th of June. They at length acquieſced in ſending general Webb, when it was too late. Nothing further being done this year the troops wintered at Albany.

Let us now return to the affairs of Europe, and ſhew how by degrees the French miniſtry engaged us in the unhappy broils of Germany. The fears of an invaſion had ſo wholly engroſſed the attention of our miniſtry, that nothing was thought of but repelling it. They ordered colonel Yorke, at the Hague, to demand of the Dutch the 6000 men ſtipulated by treaty, as ſuccours to Great Britain. The States were greatly embarraſſed by this demand; and they foreſaw that if they complied it would involve them in the war, and expoſe them to an attack by land from France, which they much dreaded. They therefore contrived ſeveral delays before they would give an anſwer to the Engliſh memorial; which his late Majeſty, at length perceiving, ordered his reſident to acquaint the Princeſs Regent, his daughter, that he would not inſiſt on his demand. Upon which the Dutch reſolved to ſtand neuter; and in conſequence a body of Heſſian troops were required purſuant to the late treaty with the Prince of Heſſe.

Many

Many were averſe to this ſtep, yet conſidering the critical ſituation of affairs they were afraid to oppoſe it, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the odious ſuſpicion of favouring our enemies. An addreſs to bring over theſe troops was therefore voted and preſented to the King; and before the end of May, this year, the Heſſians and Hanoverians were actually encamped in England; but the nation could ill brook the appearance of foreign forces as defenders of the liberties of Britons.

They were much better diſpoſed to reliſh the convention with Pruſſia, and the parliament granted 20,000l. to make good this engagement, and one million to be employed as exigencies ſhould require.

It is proper here to remark, that the Empreſs-Queen having ceded Sileſia to the King of Pruſſia, ſoon begun to envy that Monarch the poſſeſſion of ſo valuable a part of her former dominions. The deſire of repoſſeſſing it and of revenging herſelf on that Prince, induced her, at any rate, to pick a quarrel with him; but fearful of the King's enterpriſing genius, ſhe, although ſuperior in number of forces, ſought for allies to aſſiſt her in theſe ambitious deſigns. She caſt her eyes on the King of Poland, elector of Saxony, who very readily joined her, and that with great ſimilarity of ſentiments. Theſe two powers formed a ſecret ſcheme to invade Pruſſia, and invited the Empreſs of Ruſſia to join them. That Princeſs was more wary as ſhe had no foundation of diſpute with the Pruſſian Monarch. The courts of Vienna and Dreſden, upon this difficulty, propagated ſeveral artful calumnies tending to depreciate that King, and intimated that he had formed deſigns againſt Ruſſia. By this means, and by bringing over ſeveral of the Empreſs's miniſters to their party, they brought the Czarina into their iniquitous ſchemes, which concluded in the treaty of Peterſburgh. Saxony, by her ſituation ſo much in the power of Pruſſia, was excuſed from formally acceding to this treaty, till matters were brought to ſuch a criſis that it might be done without danger of being over-run. Her plan was, in caſe Pruſſia demanded at any time a paſſage for troops through that electorate, in order to attack the Empreſs-Queen, to grant it; and as ſoon as the King's hands were full in Bohemia or elſewhere, to march with all the electoral troops into the heart of the Pruſſian dominions, which would then be deſtitute of forces for their defence. The better to inſure ſucceſs in theſe meaſures, the Empreſs of Ruſſia made immenſe preparations for ſubſiſting an army of 120,000 men, which, by the treaty of Peterſburgh, were to march againſt Pruſſia. The Empreſs-Queen had 80,000 men encamped on the frontiers

tiers of Sileſia, 30,000 men were aſſembled in Saxony, and magazines formed for their ſubſiſtence; a large road was likewiſe cut through the mountains into Bohemia, and called, with little policy, conſidering the Elector's ſituation, THE MILITARY ROAD. The guide-poſts at certain diſtances bearing this remarkable inſcription was a circumſtance not to be overlooked by a perſon of the King of Pruſſia's penetrating and watchful diſpoſition.

He ſaw theſe preparations with a jealous eye, and thought it neceſſary to be certain whether they were deſigned againſt him or not. He accordingly ordered his miniſter at the Imperial court, to demand againſt whom theſe meaſures were taking; but having received an equivocating anſwer, he again demanded a ſolemn promiſe from the Empreſs-Queen that ſhe would not attack him in the courſe of that year or the next. Being refuſed a ſatisfactory anſwer, and well informed of all the above particulars, he very juſtly thought it would be ſafeſt to avert the blow which hung in ſo formidable a manner over his head, by ſtriking at the boſom of his enemy, to diſable him from executing the deſigns he had formed. Such was the caſe of his Pruſſian Majeſty; and all Europe muſt allow he was at liberty to attack any of the three powers in confederacy againſt him, without violating the laws of nations. This ſufficiently appeared when he ſurprized Saxony, and got poſſeſſion of the original treaties with the ſecret tranſactions relative thereto; a very neceſſary ſtep, as it begun the war where his enemies propoſed to end it; and the diſcovery of ſuch a malicious ſcheme to embroil Germany, procured him many well-wiſhers, eſpecially in Britain, whence he might reaſonably expect moſt aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the ſingularity of this meaſure and his former conduct in the preceding war, wherein he had given remarkable proofs of his inconſtancy. He was allowed to poſſeſs great martial abilities, of an active and penetrating genius, with an unbounded ambition, and had always a large number of troops ready for action, which he had lately augmented beyond the proportion of his revenues, in conſequence of his alliance with Great Britain.

When the Empreſs-Queen knew of this alliance ſhe threw herſelf into the arms of France, and obtained the friendſhip of that power at the expence of the barrier againſt it in the Netherlands. She concluded a treaty of alliance with the court of Verſailles, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia was invited to accede to it, which ſhe afterwards did.

Theſe three conſiderable powers having thus entered into a formidable confederacy, ſounded the courts of Madrid and Turin;

rin; but theſe wiſely reſolved on a neutrality, while Sweden was engaged, though ſhe only entered Germany on pretence of being guarantee to the treaty of Weſtphalia. Beſides the King of Sweden was himſelf inclined to peace, and the Queen was related to the King of Pruſſia; but both theſe conſiderations were over-borne by a faction in the ſenate, and ſome of the King's beſt friends beheaded: He thought himſelf ſo ill uſed by the diet that he threatened to reſign his crown and retire to his hereditary dominions in Germany.

The Pruſſian Monarch was however before-hand with his enemies and had entered Saxony, ſeizing upon the chief cities, Dreſden and Leipſic. Some forms were obſerved, as if he only meant to ſecure a paſſage for troops into Bohemia; but the King of Poland being forced by this bold ſtroke to declare himſelf, or diſband his troops, reſolved to ſtand on the defenſive; and for that purpoſe drew them together at Pirna, a place of difficult acceſs, where they encamped under cover of entrenchments and a numerous artillery: They had moreover an advantage in being nearer the Auſtrian armies, which were forming with great expedition in Bohemia, under m. Brown and m. Picolomini, one of which were ſhortly expected to relieve them. The King of Pruſſia, in the mean time, formed a blockade round them, and ſeized on all the magazines and granaries he could find, ordering the revenues of Saxony to be paid to Pruſſian officers. On the other hand a proceſs was commenced againſt him, as a ſubject of the Emperor, before the Aulic council, where he was condemned for contumacy, and put nnder the Imperial Bann. They adjudged him to be deprived of thoſe dignities and poſſeſſions which he held under the empire, and brought upon him the army which is formed from the circles to put ſuch ſentences in execution. This ſentence was afterwards pronounced againſt the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, and other Princes taking part with Pruſſia; but it is frequent, in Germany, to appeal from ſuch deciſions to that of the ſword.

Frederick, ſeeing the cloud gather on every ſide, reſolved to loſe no time but make ſure of Saxony, that the calamities of war might be kept at ſome diſtance from his Electoral dominions. To awe the Auſtrians, who he judged would ſpeedily march to the relief of Saxony, he ordered m. Schwerin to enter Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and m. Keith on the ſide of Miſnia; but apprehending this force inſufficient, he committed the blockade of Pirna to an officer of inferior note, and entered Bohemia himſelf with the main body of his army. Having now joined the troops under Keith he advanced to attack

attack the Auſtrians at Lowoſchutz. Early in the morning, being the firſt of October, the Pruſſian cavalry advanced to the charge. The enemy were covered with a numerous artillery, the fire of which being well directed, obliged them to fall back with conſiderable loſs; notwithſtanding this they returned to the charge and made an impreſſion on the Auſtrian cavalry, putting ſome irregulars to flight, which had galled their flank; yet they ſuffered greatly, ſo that the King ordered them to the rear, where they continued afterwards. The cannon, during this time, did conſiderable execution. Marſhal Keith, at the head of the infantry, now attacked the village of Lowoſchutz. In this attack the Pruſſians are ſaid to have fired ninety rounds each; but being now in want of ammunition charged with their bayonets, entering the village and driving before them ſome freſh battalions, which m. Brown had juſt poſted there. The action ended with a diſorderly flight of the Auſtrians. The Pruſſian cavalry were too roughly handled to purſue, and were moreover diſcouraged by a broad ditch, which had rendered their ſpirited attack in the morning of little ſervice. As the Auſtrians fled this way it was judged improper to purſue them, and m. Brown covered the broken troops which remained of his infantry, with a body of forces which had not been attacked, waiting for night before he went off in earneſt. After midnight he began his march towards his camp at Budin, breaking down his bridges acroſs the Egra.

Both armies claimed the victory, as they encamped on the field that night; and if m. Brown returned to his camp, the Pruſſians retired to Saxony, and joined the troops that were left at the blockade of Pirna: If the king of Pruſſia, when he entered Bohemia, intended to winter there, he loſt the battle; but if his plan was only to reduce the Saxons, he certainly gained it; as m. Brown, though he made ſeveral motions to relieve them, could never effect it. The Saxons were now reduced to great ſtraits and in want of every thing, the Pruſſians having taken poſſeſſion of all the defiles, avenues, paſſes, &c. for a conſiderable diſtance round Pirna. The King of Poland had now quitted Saxony and ſent a letter to count Rutowiſki, the commander of his army there, veſting that officer with full power to ſurrender, or take ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to preſerve the troops. The Saxons were ſpent with hunger and the great fatigue of throwing bridges over the Elbe, and conſtantly in motion, if poſſible, to effect their deliverance. Their horſes were alſo too weak to draw the artillery, and the poſt as difficult to leave as it was to be forced; this will appear if we attend to it's ſituation. The plain

between Pirna and Koenigſtein, where they encamped, is a continued rock, with a declivity down to the Elbe on one ſide and into a valley on the other; this declivity ends on the ſide of Koenigſtein, from whence begins a thick foreſt, in which the Saxons had cut down trees and barricaded themſelves. On this ſide of Pirna was a narrow paſs, where, as well as in the town itſelf, they had thrown up intrenchments and were well provided with cannon. With this ſtrong ſituation they were in want of water, proviſions and forage. They had to form a bridge over the Elbe, in order to make their eſcape. The Pruſſian officers ſuffered them to finiſh it without any diſturbance, and when they were ſufficiently embarraſſed by the difficulty of the paſſes and badneſs of the roads, the Pruſſians fell on their rear guard. The Saxons now loſt all preſence of mind, and cut down the bridge. M. Brown had by this time advanced to Schandau, and immediately acquainted the Saxons that he would ſtay there all the next day but no longer, and agreed, upon a ſignal given by the Saxons, to attack the Pruſſian poſts. This ſignal was not made; for the Saxons were in a place from whence there was no paſſage, no poſſibility of acting or retreating; and m. Brown, apprehending ſome danger from his own ſituation, retreated towards Bohemia, having his rear harraſſed by Pruſſian detachments. Thus the Saxons were obliged to ſubmit, and even to enter into the King of Pruſſia's ſervice. He alſo cauſed the Electorate to furniſh him recruits and levied heavy contributions; and in caſe of nonpayment threatened the inhabitants with military execution; nay to humble them ſufficiently he took up his winter quarters among them. Thus were the poor Saxons forced to ſuffer all the calamities of war, through the ambition of their Sovereign, the intrigues of France, and the implacable hatred of the Empreſs-Queen to Pruſſia.

Our domeſtic affairs were at this time in great confuſion, and there appeared the utmoſt deſpondency in the miniſtry. They ſhared equally in the clamour raiſed againſt admiral Byng, and at the ſame time diſagreed among themſelves, to which the late altercations upon the loſs of Minorca contributed not a little. The Duke of Devonſhire now preſided at the Treaſury, inſtead of the Duke of Newcaſtle. Mr. Legg was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of mr. George Littleton, ſince ennobled. Lord Temple, brother-in-law to mr. Pitt, preſided at a new board of Admiralty. A coalition of theſe with thoſe of the old unſettled adminiſtration that kept their poſts, might well cauſe a ferment. The loſs of Oſwego added fuel to the flame, and now the fears of an invaſion

ſion having ſubſided, the Hanoverian and Heſſian troops, who were ſtill under the people's noſes, added not a little to the public reſentment; but it being neceſſary to ſend them back for the defence of their own country, it was accordingly done.

On the 2d of December the Parliament met, when the clamour againſt the Old Miniſtry was as violent in the houſe as it had been without doors. Mr. F----- thought he bore too great a ſhare of the public odium, and therefore reſigned his poſt, as Secretary of State, not without the flattering proſpect of reſuming it with greater weight; for which he apprehended the embarraſſment of parties would afford him an opportunity. As he was a principal ſupport of the Old Miniſtry, and in fact alſo of that which now exiſted, his removal cauſed the whole ſtructure to fall in pieces. It could not ſeem ſtrange if the party which had brought about this ſucceeded to their vacant places. On the 4th of December mr. Pitt was appointed Secretary of State, and other promotions were made. This Miniſter was well qualified by his natural and acquired talents to ſerve the nation and carry it's power, both by land and ſea, to the utmoſt limits. There was in all his deſigns a greatneſs not eaſily to be comprehended; but the ſucceſs ſhewed them to be well laid, and the perſons who conducted them to be well choſen. His power was neither acquired nor exerciſed in the ordinary manner. With little influence, either at Court or in Parliament, he directed in both with an authority unknown before to the beſt ſupported miniſter. Under him we ſaw, for the firſt time, a popular miniſtry; carrying on the moſt important war that ever Britain was engaged in, with greater ſplendour and more ſucceſs than when at the head of formidable alliances: Alone we ſeemed a match for Europe. He never ſuffered the enemy to breathe but kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one expedition failed amends was made by another, and a third. The ſpirit of the nation, once called properly into action, was never ſuffered to cool, but dazzled the enemy by a multitude of enterprizes rapidly executed, till they loſt all power of reſiſtance. Our military genius was revived; our Allies ſupported; our colonies recovered; our trade extended, and our dominions augmented. Such was the ſtate of affairs when mr. Pitt left the miniſtry. In what condition they were at this time may be ſeen above; and no wonder if thoſe who knew his abilities pleaſed themſelves with the proſpect of matters being conducted on more national principles; upon which account thoſe who had lately reſigned did not pretend to oppoſe his meaſures.

He, by a way peculiar to himſelf, prepared to attack France by ſea and on her own coaſts; a method which he knew would moſt affect her, and be productive of the only ſolid advantage which this nation could reap from a war with her. He aimed from the firſt at a ſuperiority by ſea, and France was not ready for ſuch an enemy, having had miniſters of inferior abilities all along to deal with. The other powers of Europe were alike ſurprized. He declared poſitively against foreign ſubſidies and ſending troops to Germany. People of all degrees hoped every thing from his abilities; only a few of the Old Miniſtry, finding he would not enter into their views, endeavoured to leſſen him in the public eſteem, repreſenting him and his adherents as imperious, obſtinate and ignorant; nay ſome went ſo far as to queſtion their loyalty.

The Trial of admiral Byng now came on; it was begun on the 27th of December, on board the St. George, in Portſmouth harbour. After a long ſitting it was agreed, 'That he had been negligent in the performance of his duty at the time he ought to have engaged the French Admiral; but that his negligence aroſe from an error of judgment.' From other favourable circumſtances they thought him an object worthy of mercy, and as ſuch recommended him to his Majeſty, becauſe the twelfth Article of war, under which his caſe fell, preſcribes death, without any mitigation, in caſes of negligence. Many of the officers compoſing this tribunal declared their concern at his condemnation; and it was believed by many that the Admiral thought he had done his duty. Great intereſt was made in his behalf, and perhaps he might have eſcaped an ignominious death, if it had not been judged neceſſary he ſhould be made an example of. The legality of his ſentence was confirmed by the twelve Judges: However, one gentleman at the Board of Admiralty, refuſed to ſubſcribe the warrant for his execution. The reaſons for his refuſal take in his own words.

(1757.)

A------l F------s's *reaſons for not ſigning the warrant for admiral Byng's execution.*

"IT may be thought great preſumption in me to differ from ſo great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to ſign his name to an act, which is to give authority to the ſhedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conſcience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In

" In the caſe before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I conſider: Whether he deſerves death, or not, is not a queſtion for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the ſentence pronounced on him by the court-martial; and after having ſo clearly explained their motives for pronouncing ſuch a ſentence, is the point which alone has employed my moſt ſerious conſideration.

" The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's ſentence was grounded, ſays, ' That every perſon who, in time of action, ſhall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who ſhall not do his utmoſt, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or diſaffection, ſhall ſuffer death.' The court-martial does, in expreſs words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and diſaffection, and does not name the word negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or deſcription of the twelfth article of war. It may be ſaid, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned; otherwiſe the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and diſaffection. But it muſt be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's ſituation, muſt have proceeded from either cowardice or diſaffection, and he is expreſly acquitted of both theſe crimes: Beſides, theſe crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed juſtify ſuſpicion, and private opinion, but cannot ſatisfy the conſcience in a caſe of blood.

" Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial; his life and death were left to their opinions. The court martial condemn him to death, becauſe, as they expreſly ſay, they were under a neceſſity of doing ſo by reaſon of the letter of the law, the ſeverity of which they complained of, becauſe it admits of no migitation. The court-martial expreſly ſay, that for the ſake of their conſciences, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, they moſt earneſtly recommend him to his majeſty for mercy; it is evident then, that in the opinions and conſciences of the judges, he was not deſerving of death.

" The queſtion then is, ſhall the opinions, or neceſſities, of the court-martial, determine admiral Byng's fate? If it ſhould be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deſerving of death; but, miſtaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own deſcription of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall

fall under; and then they condemn him to death, becauſe as they ſay, the law admits of no migitation. Can a man's life be taken away by ſuch a ſentence? I would not willingly be miſunderſtood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng's deſerts: That was the buſineſs of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conſcience; which after deliberate conſideration, aſſiſted by the beſt light a poor underſtanding can afford, it remains ſtill in doubt; and, therefore, I cannot conſent to ſign a warrant whereby the ſentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that ſentence. I don't mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at is to give reaſons for my own; and all I deſire, or wiſh, is, that I may not be miſunderſtood. I do not pretend to judge of admiral Byng's deſerts, nor to give my opinion on the propriety of the act.

Signed the 16th of February, 1757, at the Admiralty,

J. F."

The unfortunate admiral prepared himſelf for death with reſignation and tranquility. He maintained a ſurpriſing chearfulneſs to the laſt; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the leaſt ſign of impatience or apprehenſion. During that interval he had remained on board of the Monarque, a third rate ſhip of war, at anchor in the harbour of Portſmouth, under a ſtrong guard, in cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the ſquadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this ſolemnity in the harbour, which was alſo crouded with an infinite number of other boats and veſſels filled with ſpectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman and two friends, who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the ſentence. He advanced with a firm, deliberate ſtep, a compoſed and reſolute countenance, and reſolved to ſuffer with his face uncovered, until his friends repreſenting that his looks would poſſibly intimidate the ſoldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he ſubmitted to their requeſt, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cuſhion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a ſignal for his executioners,

tioners, who fired a volley ſo deciſive that five balls paſſed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an inſtant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being depoſited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

His own ſentiments concerning his fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cauſe of diſſimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marſhal of the admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the violent perſecution, and fruſtrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life ſubject to the ſenſations my injuries, and the injuſtice done me, muſt create; perſuaded I am, that juſtice will be done to my reputation hereafter: The manner and cauſe of raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice againſt me, will be ſeen through. I ſhall be conſidered (as I now perceive myſelf) a victim deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themſelves muſt now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my laſt moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conſcious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wiſh the ſhedding my blood may contribute to the happineſs and ſervice of my country; but cannot reſign my juſt claim to a faithful diſcharge of my duty according to the beſt of my judgment, and the utmoſt exertion of my ability for his majeſty's honour, and my country's ſervice. I am ſorry that my endeavours were not attended with more ſucceſs; and that the armament, under my command, prov'd too weak to ſucceed in an expedition of ſuch moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falſhood, and juſtice has wiped off the ignominious ſtain of my ſuppoſed want of perſonal courage, and the charge of diſaffection. My heart acquits me of theſe crimes: But who can be preſumptuouſly ſure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and yet if the error in judgment ſhould be on their ſide, GOD forgive them as I do; and may the diſtreſs of their minds, and uneaſineſs of their conſciences, which in juſtice to me they have repreſented, be relieved and ſubſide as my reſentment has done. The Supreme Judge ſees all hearts and motives, and to him I muſt ſubmit the juſtice of my cauſe." J. BYNG.

Early this year the Militia Bill paſſed both Houſes. It was introduced into the Houſe of Commons by the honourable mr. George

George Townſhend, and his brother Charles. The people were prepared to receive this ſalutary and neceſſary law, by ſome pamphlets written by perſons of diſtinction, ſhewing the benefit and propriety of a National Militia in time of war. However there were ſome perſons in power who ſecretly diſliked it, and many who acquieſced in it were far from being hearty in it's favour; but none choſe openly to avow their ſentiments againſt it as it was ſo popular a meaſure. Though it paſſed into a law, as we have obſerved above, it wanted many of thoſe amendments and alterations to render it effectual, which indeed afterwards took place. To this ſucceeded a meſſage from the King, acquainting the Houſe, that the French were preparing to enter Germany and invade his Electoral dominions, together with thoſe of his ally, the King of Pruſſia. His Majeſty then required ſuch aſſiſtance as would enable him to form an army of obſervation for the defence of his territories in Weſtphalia, and alſo to fulfil his engagements with Pruſſia. This meſſage was complied with and 200,000l. granted for thoſe purpoſes. At the ſame time the Parliament addreſſed the King to lay before them all the papers relative to the affair of Minorca. So many were produced that the truth lay buried under heaps of letters, orders, inſtructions, &c. which ſeemed to require the attention of a whole ſeſſion in order to extract the neceſſary facts and fairly inveſtigate them; ſo the whole of that affair ended in nothing.

A body of troops was aſſembled early this year in Weſtphalia, under the name of An Army of Obſervation, to be commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. This army was to watch the motions of the French, who were preparing to invade Hanover. If we conſider the equity of this meaſure, it will be found a neceſſary one at that time, whatever ſome people may have urged againſt it. Mr. Pitt brought that meſſage to the Houſe, which produced the vote in favour of it, without loſing any of his credit with the people on that account. It might be fairly concluded when the ſhipping of France was firſt ſeized, that nation would revenge itſelf on Hanover; and now the unhappy people were ready to be pillaged on our account, leſs could not be propoſed for their aſſiſtance than an army to obſerve the enemy's motions, and by ſtanding on the defenſive, find employment for more of his troops. Mr. Pitt and his friends were for confining the operations in Germany to this point of view at firſt, and even cramped it ſo far as to declare againſt Britiſh troops going over or taking the foreign troops into pay. This was doubtleſs oppoſing one extreme by another; for if the troops of that country could be under our

direction

direction they would have the advantage of recruiting and wintering on the ſpot, while the French would loſe half their numbers by the hazard of convoys, magazines, &c. and be obliged to retreat in the winter. This happened in fact, to the ruin of numerous armies, and the diſgrace of their commanders. But it may be ſaid, to the honour of Britain, that the exertion of our ſtrength in Germany was well-timed, tho' a more natural, ſafe, leſs-complicated, and leſs expenſive plan of politicks was inſiſted on at this juncture.

Without controverſy this ought to be the general rule of our operations. Great Britain as an iſland ſhould be conducted on different maxims than thoſe nations on the continent. Our proper ſtrength is maritime and ſhould chiefly be exerted at ſea. Trade is our natural employment, in which the French who are our inveterate enemies greatly rival us. We can by a ſea war ſupport our commerce and cramp theirs. If we leave this point of view and enter the labyrinth of continental politicks, make ourſelves parties in every controverſy, exhauſt our treaſure in purchaſing the uſeleſs and precarious friendſhip of every petty prince, waſte the blood of our people in all the quarrels that may ariſe on the continent of Europe, all this will be ſo far from going the right way to reduce France, that we are attacking her on the ſtrongeſt ſide, and weaken ourſelves by ſuch ill-judged efforts.

On theſe principles the new miniſtry were for proceeding; but the neceſſity of paying a ſtrict regard to what is called the balance of power, was oppoſed to their arguments, and the national buſineſs was interrupted by theſe diſputes, which ended in the diſmiſſion of mr. Pitt. On the 5th of April the King commanded him to reſign, and four days after mr. Legge reſigned of courſe. Affairs at this time were truly deplorable. We were engaged in a war which had hitherto proved unſucceſsful. Military virtue was deſpaired of, and publick ſpirit ſeemed to be extinguiſhed. Operations were ſuſpended; for there being no ſettled miniſtry there was no plan to act by. The principal perſons in the kingdom were divided into three parties. The firſt were thoſe who had been connected with former adminiſtrations and were gotten into places and power; but they in general wanted abilities and popularity, an eſſential requiſite in a government like ours; yet the monied intereſt was at their command, and they had by far the greateſt part of parliamentary influence. The ſecond party were thoſe who ſucceeded to office in this ſtate of affairs, and were ſoon forced to abandon their poſts. They were even more

unpopular than the firſt party; their ſtrength being inferior as their influence in parliament was leſs, tho' they were allowed to have abilities. The third party poſſeſſed an unbounded popularity. With mr. Pitt at their head they were thought capable of exerting that ſpirit which was neceſſary to aſſert our rights, and which the nation had long wanted; that courage and honeſty to purſue the real intereſts of their country in defiance of oppoſition and contempt of private advantages, which alone could render Britain united at home and reſpected abroad. Their ſtrength in parliament was trifling, and their influence at court leſs; but they were careſſed by the people, who repoſed the moſt perfect confidence in their integrity and diſintereſtedneſs. That of their leader was univerſally allowed; even by his enemies he was known to have a turn for buſineſs, and his application was equal to his abilities. The turning theſe men out of employment was ſo far from working their diſgrace as was intended, that it made them, if poſſible, ſhine with more diſtinguiſhed luſtre; the whole nation roſe up as one man to vindicate their conduct, and the freedoms of moſt of the great cities and corporations in Great-Britain and Ireland were tranſmitted to mr. Pitt and mr. Legge in gold boxes, accompanied with remarkable addreſſes, containing the higheſt encomiums on the patriotiſm and virtue of their adminiſtration. Nobody ſucceeded to mr. Pitt's office. On the 6th of April lord Mansfield was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a new Board of Admiralty was appointed with the Earl of Winchelſea at it's head. Three days after theſe alterations were made, the Duke of Cumberland was ſent to Hanover to command an army of obſervation, conſiſting of between thirty and forty thouſand Hanoverians and Heſſians. This meaſure was taken in conſequence of the movement of a French army towards the Rhine, compoſed of thoſe troops which they had laſt year aſſembled on the coaſts of Picardy, Britanny and Normandy, with a view of proceeding to Germany, and attacking the King of Pruſſia, in conſequence, as they pretended, of their treaty with the Empreſs-Queen, and their being guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia; though perhaps their real deſign was no other than to make a conqueſt of the Electorate of Hanover, by which they judged they could oblige the Britiſh Monarh to make ſome conceſſions with regard to America. The name of Hanover was at this time ſo unpopular in England; that the people would not hear of a man or a ſhilling being ſent thither. The ſending our troops thither, while we are at war with France, is doubtleſs prejudicial to this nation; for, by want of ſpeedy recruits, we cannot act on the offenſive againſt France as we ought.

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The want of a ſettled miniſtry occaſioned the misfortune of our having no fixed plan of politics at the beginning of the year; and our affairs were not likely to go well, when it was uncertain how we ſhould purſue them in ſuch a variety of changes; for during the whole ſpring nothing was to be ſeen or heard of at court but confuſion and cabal. At length, when we were almoſt ruined by this ſtate of anarchy, and when our generals had taken the field in every quarter, though perhaps not without the fear of being diſgraced by new maſters, the caballing ſeemed to ceaſe, and a reconciliation among the parties began to be brought about. Perhaps the old junto, who had incurred the cenſure of the people, were afraid to puſh matters to an extremity: They now ſaw the effects of popularity which they once deſpiſed, and that the people were not to be led by the noſe implicitly into every meaſure as they had apprehended. Addreſſes made their way to the throne, praying, that the diſmiſſed miniſters might be reſtored, for upon them depended the ſecurity and honour of the nation, and the ſucceſs of the war, which had hitherto teemed with diſgrace and misfortune. Theſe were terrible blows to the party in power, and there was no concealing them. On the 29th of June the king reſtored mr. Pitt to his office, and three days after mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Newcaſtle was placed at the head of a new board of treaſury, lord Anſon made firſt lord of the admiralty, and mr. Fox paymaſter of the forces. This arrangement was productive of the moſt happy conſequences, and whoever adviſed it was a friend to Great-Britain. It was impoſſible to exclude ſome of the late miniſtry from the adminiſtration; their influence in council and parliament was ſo great, that they were able to thwart every meaſure in which they were not immediately concerned or conſulted; this was the beſt ſtep that could be taken, becauſe it was an healing one, and while it ſatisfied the heads of the parties themſelves, it could not fail of being agreeable to their numerous friends; it had one advantage above all theſe, which was, that it entirely quelled the ſpirit of faction, no one party being able on it's ſingle bottom to do any thing; and this coalition, ſo neceſſary in a government like ours, gave univerſal ſatisfaction to all ranks of people. It is not neceſſary to trace out the means through which it was effected; the reader muſt be content with our obſerving, that after the parties had abated ſomething in their hard and rigorous terms, by which all things had been puſhed to an extreme, they conſented to a kind of capitulation, both the court and the people being reconciled to it's terms. There

could be no fear of neglect where the vigilance and capacity of mr. Pitt were to be exerted

In the mean time the operations in Germany on the ſide of the King of Pruſſia were begun with great ſpirit. He defied the Imperial ban, and though he knew the ſtate of the confederacy againſt him, he reſolved to force his way into Bohemia, and it's capital without delay. The Auſtrians commanded by Prince Charles of Lorrain and count Brown, were already joined to oppoſe his paſſage. The King divided his army into three bodies, and then began his march. One of theſe diviſions, commanded by the Prince of Bevern, defeated a large corps of the enemy at Richenburg. The whole army entered Bohemia without any further oppoſition, and with ſurpriſing rapidity puſhed forward to Prague.

The Auſtrian army under Prince Charles of Lorrain conſiſted of above ninety five thouſand men, being joined by the remains of that army from Moravia which was beaten by the Prince of Bevern, and by ſeveral regiments from the garriſon of Prague. They took poſt on the banks of the Moldau, near that city, in a camp almoſt inacceſſible, with their left wing inclining to the mountain of Ziſcha, and their right towards Sterboholi, where they waited on an eminence for the Pruſſians. The King deſigning to attack them had ſuddenly joined his armies, and now paſſing the Moldau, reſolved to turn the enemy's camp. For this purpoſe his army defiled towards the left; upon which marſhal Brown made a motion to the right to avoid being flanked. The Pruſſians marched beyond Biſchowitz, traverſing ditches and moraſſes. This ſeparated their infantry a little, at the ſame time attacking too precipitately they were repulſed; but they made a freſh attack and forced the enemy's right. The cavalry ſeconded this bold ſtroke and after three charges obliged the Auſtrian cavalry on the right to fly. Their center by this time was broke by the Pruſſian infantry, who puſhed quite through the Auſtrian camp. They then joined their cavalry and cut off the Auſtrian left wing from all hopes of communicating with the right, which was now flying towards Saſzawa in great confuſion. Immediately the left wing under m. Brown was attacked with great reſolution, and the Pruſſians ſeizing three batteries, on three different eminences, ſucceſſively drove the enemy to the utmoſt deſpair.

The Pruſſian ardour in this battle, under the eye of their Sovereign, roſe to that noble enthuſiaſm of bravery, which generally inſures ſucceſs. That army from Sileſia, under marſhal Schwerin, had moraſſes to paſs, precipices to climb, and batteries to face; but a moraſs at which they heſitated was likely

likely to diſconcert the whole plan of action. It was here the brave marſhal Schwerin diſmounted and taking the Colonel's ſtandard of his own regiment reſolutely advanced, crying out, "All true Pruſſians will follow me." He was killed almoſt with the words in his mouth; but his example had ſuch an effect, that the Pruſſians paſſed with great diſpatch, ſeeming deſirous of nothing but revenge; and ſeveral generals led up with the colours of their regiments to the attack, bearing down all before them to the Auſtrian camp.

The loſs of marſhal Schwerin was greatly regretted; but the enemy ſuffered likewiſe in the death of marſhal Brown, of a wound ſcarce judged mortal, ſo that a ſenſe of his diſgrace may be ſaid to have haſtened his end. The whole Auſtrian camp was taken; 40,000 of their troops threw themſelves haſtily into Prague; the reſt fled towards Benneſchaw; great numbers were ſlain; near ten thouſand taken priſoners; the military cheſt, 250 cannon and numerous trophies of victory fell into the hands of the conquerors. This battle was fought near Prague on the 6th of May.

Frederic immediately inveſted Prague, with a conſiderable army cooped up in it's walls. In order to cut off all ſuccours he divided his army into two bodies. Marſhal Keith commanded one, which blocked up the little town on this ſide the Moldau, while the King in perſon inveſted the old city with the other. It was judged impoſſible to take the city by aſſault with an army to defend it; but probably it might be reduced by famine. This event might be brought on by a bombardment, for which preparations were haſtening. The redoubts and batteries being in great forwardneſs by the 23d of May, a deſperate and well-conducted ſally was made by the Auſtrians. They attacked in the night a battery yet unfiniſhed with 10,000 men, but were often repulſed, and at day-break retired in ſome confuſion, after a ſharp diſpute which laſted three hours, without making any impreſſion on the Pruſſian poſts, or execuing their main deſign, which was to burn the bridges of communications acroſs the Moldau. The Prince of Bevern covered the ſiege with 20,000 men, and on the 29th of May, after a moſt terrible ſtorm of rain and thunder, four batteries were opened on the ſignal of a rocket at midnight. Theſe diſcharged 288 bombs every twenty-four hours on the unhappy city, beſides great numbers of red-hot balls. We may conceive ſome idea of their deſtructive effects when the city was on fire in ſeveral places at once, and 12,000 horſes, without forage or cover, were ranged in the ſtreets and ſquares, every moment breaking looſe during this terrible bombardment. On the

10th

10th of June a red-hot ball ſet fire to an entire quarter of the new city, which burnt with incredible fury for five hours, and when it appeared in ſome meaſure to abate, broke out again towards evening. The wind now being high carried the flames before it, ſpreading apace, ſo that every thing was levelled for ſeveral hundred yards. The principal magiſtrates, clergy, and burghers, ſupplicated the commander to aſk terms of the beſiegers, before the city was reduced to an entire heap; but Prince Charles was deaf to their prayers, and even hanged up two Senators that were too clamorous. He had before this driven 12,000 uſeleſs mouths out of the city, and they were forced back by the Pruſſians. Thus compleatly were they diſtreſſed, and it was thought Prague would ſoon be given up without terms, when count Daun gave an unexpected turn to affairs in Bohemia.

He had for ſome time been collecting that part of the Auſtrian army which had fled towards Moravia; the garriſons of ſuch places as were at hand were added to this broken corps, and their ramparts ſtripped of cannon to compoſe a train of artillery. He now took poſt at Colin, a ſtrong camp at a ſmall diſtance from Prague, from whence he gave the beſieged ſome hopes of relief, judging this would draw the king to attack him. Frederick fearing the Prince of Bevern might be cut off, and being informed Daun was 60,000 ſtrong, took a ſudden reſolution to diſlodge him contrary to m. Keith's advice for reducing Prague firſt, or elſe raiſing the ſiege and fighting Daun with the whole army; but the king had formed his plan and would not alter it.

He drew together thirty-two thouſand men, conſiſting of the out parties and ſome troops before Prague for this purpoſe, and marched them to Colin, where he found count Daun intrenched up to the teeth and defended with the moſt formidable trains of artillery he had ever beheld. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, beſides their ſuperior numbers, the king gave orders for the attack, which was made with the moſt impetuous and well-regulated courage. The Pruſſians were driven back and returned to the charge ſeven times, with unheard-of reſolution; but the remembrance of their late victories was freſh in their memories. Both the king's brothers were in the field; he was ſurpriſed with their courage, at the ſame time that he teſtified a concern for their ſafety. He now headed the cavalry himſelf and made a deſperate concluding charge. All proved ineffectual, and the troops were now drawn off, having ſuffered very ſeverely from the Auſtrian artillery, which ſwept them away as they advanced up the heights; in ſhort the king perceived,

perceived, when it was too late, that his troops were too few for this deſperate enterprize; and when he determined to draw off called aloud to the Prince of Bevern in French, "We will do better another time;" thus taking all the blame upon himſelf. Count Daun never ſtirred out of his intrenchments: He knew there were not troops ſufficient to force them, and ſaw thoſe men ſacrificed by thouſands, who had ſpread terror as far as the gates of Vienna, well knowing the king, by the loſs of his beſt troops, would be leſs formidable for that campaign at leaſt. He was too cautious to purſue; ſo that the Pruſſians made a tolerable retreat to Prague, where the king, having joined his army under m. Keith, prepared to raiſe the ſiege directly. This meaſure proves his loſs muſt have been great; beſides the common conſequences of a defeat in diſheartening the men and bringing on deſertions. The ſiege of Prague was raiſed that night, and he begun his march with all ſpeed for Saxony. When the impriſoned army had notice of this they ſallied out of the city, but it was too late to do him any material damage. Count Daun now joined them, and was received with all the tranſports due to a deliverer. They were attentive in the mean time to what the Pruſſian monarch might next undertake; but after this ſudden turn of affairs he began to act on the defenſive. Frederic ſoon ſaw the neceſſity of this, as his enemies, animated by the ſucceſs of their allies, began to threaten his deſtruction on all ſides. The Ruſſians began to ravage Pruſſia with every aggravating circumſtance of cruelty; their behaviour was as cowardly as it was barbarous, not once daring to face a handful of Pruſſians under m. Lehwald. When their behaviour was now grown intolerable, and the Pruſſian ſoldiers under Lehwald thirſted for vengeance, that general was ordered to attack them. No ſooner were they adviſed of this than they intrenched themſelves, tho' in number eighty thouſand regulars beſides Coſſacks, in an advantageous camp, near Norkitten. The Pruſſians, not exceeding thirty thouſand men, attacked their intrenchments with their uſual vigour, on the 30th of Auguſt, early in the morning. The king of Sweden's brother, at the head of the dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and a regiment of their grenadiers was cut to pieces. M. Lehwald, after a conſiderable loſs, forced the enemy's firſt intrenchment, but finding there was a ſecond, defended by at leaſt two hundred cannon, he thought it moſt prudent to ſpare the troops, and drew off to his former camp, without the leaſt moleſtation. The Ruſſians continued in theirs to the 13th of September, till finding it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in a country already ruined by their own ravages, they began

began a retreat, to the ſurprize of both the Pruſſians and all Europe. The court of Peterſbourgh diſavowed this, and marſhal Apraxin, who commanded theſe troops, was ordered to be arreſted; but his death hindered a farther enquiry into this affair. The ſuddenneſs of this retreat hindered m. Lehwald from making any advantage by harraſſing their rear; ſo he turned his arms againſt the Swedes. They had ſeized ſeveral towns in the higher Pomerania, but quitted them on his approach, being puſhed to Straelſund, with ſcarce half their numbers; having ſuffered alike from fatigue and famine and in conſequence not a little from deſertion.

We will now return to the French army under m. d'Etrees, which had entered Weſtphalia, under colour of auxiliaries to the Empreſs of Germany. The Duke of Cumberland commanded the army intended to watch their motions, and did all that was in his power to obſtruct their march; but every obſtacle was overcome by the French General, who had ſuperior abilities to ſeveral that ſucceeded him, and had a number of troops almoſt double to that of his Royal Highneſs. This obliged the Duke to paſs the Weſer, and d'Etrees followed him in the beginning of July. It was difficult before this to ſubſiſt an army of 80,000 men in that barren country, betwixt the Rhine and the Weſer, which made them advance by ſlow marches; but now they puſhed forwards and ſpread terror on every ſide by levying heavy contributions. The country of Heſſe Caſſel ſuffered firſt. Minden and Gottingen received French garriſons without oppoſition, and a requiſition was ſent to the regency of Hanover for deputies to ſettle contributions, forage, &c. The Duke was then at Hamelen, and removed towards Halle in order to watch their motions. He ſent general Zaſtrow with 12,000 men to ſeize the important paſs of Stadt-oldendorf; but he came too late, as the French were already in poſſeſſion of it; ſo the General by a forced march rejoined the Duke's army at Latford on the Weſer. On the 24th of July the French drove ſome Hanoverian parties from Latford, and the Duke perceiving their intention was to attack him, drew up his army on the high ground, with his right towards the Weſer, and his left cloſe to a wood, the village of Hoſtenbeck being in his front. The evening coming on he withdrew all his out poſts and ordered the troops to lie on their arms for that night.

In the morning the enemy was ſeen marching in columns, as if they intended to attack the Hanoverians, but confined their operations for that day to a furious cannonade, which was returned by the Duke, tho' with a much inferior train of artillery.

lery. This night was paſſed under arms, and at five next morning, being the 26th of July, the cannonade began with more fury upon an Hanoverian battery, ſupported by the Heſſian troops with great bravery and firmneſs. At ſeven in the evening, after ſix hours cannonade without intermiſſion, the Hanoverians on the left wing began to fire with ſmall arms.

Some grenadiers had been poſted in the wood to cover that flank, and a battery planted there. Theſe finding they were like to be ſurrounded by the French retired to the left and joined the army; upon which the French ſeized the battery without oppoſition. It was here the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by attacking a ſuperior force and retaking the battery. The enemy being in poſſeſſion of a height that flanked both the Duke's lines, who wanting room to change his poſition ordered the army to retreat, which was done in good order to Hamelen. It has been ſaid that his Royal Highneſs had won the battle without knowing it; for the French in marching through the wood were ſeized with a panic and fired on one another, ſo that word was brought to d'Etrees, from all quarters, of the Hanoverians appearing to right and left, as if they would flank him both ways. This made him alter his poſition about the ſame time when the Duke had reſolved on a retreat without perceiving it.

His Royal Highneſs now made a motion to Hoya, where he encamped, but retreated to Verden, for which place the army marched on the 12th of Auguſt. M. d'Etrees had been forced to reſign his command in favour of the Duke de Richlieu, on the 6th of that month, by the intrigues of madam Pompadour. That new commander advanced by haſty marches on the duke of Cumberland, who kept retreating towards Stade, inſtead of taking the direct rout to Magdebourgh, where the king of Pruſſia and he might have joined their forces, or aſſiſted each other ſeparately. By the beginning of September he was cooped up with the water on his flanks and rear, and the French in his front. Thus diſtreſſed he was neceſſitated to ſign an agreement made under the mediation of Denmark, by which his whole army, conſiſting of 38,000 men, were to lay down their arms. The Hanoverians had quarters aſſigned them by the French General round about Stade, out of which they were not to move; the troops of Heſſe, Brunſwick; and Saxe-Gotha, were ſent back to their own countries, to be further diſpoſed of as their reſpective Sovereigns ſhould agree with the court of France. Soon after this his Royal Highneſs returned to London, where finding his

conduct ſeverely cenſured, he threw up all the places which he held under the crown, and retired to Windſor.

It was certainly a falſe ſtep to retreat to ſuch a bad ſituation, with an army which had not only faced the French two days, but had nearly defeated them, and had drawn off without being purſued. A new General was appointed by an influence which was likely to create miſunderſtandings among the French officers. An experienced and ſcheming commander would have availed himſelf of this and hazarded another battle in ſuch circumſtances: But the Duke was too cautious after the fatal miſcarriage at Fontenoy of expoſing his troops. He could never get over this; for the apprehenſion of repeating what had been cenſured as a ſpecies of Quixotiſm made him apt to fall into the contrary extreme; yet that victory by which he finiſhed the laſt rebellion, and that military ſpirit which was introduced into the army, chiefly by his ſtrict attention to diſcipline, laid the foundation of our firſt conqueſts, and of that extraordinary and unexampled military glory which the Britiſh troops afterwards acquired in every quarter of the globe. But to return.

The army of the Empire had now advanced into Saxony and ſummoned the Pruſſian garriſon in Leipſic. Frederic had ſeveral times offered battle to the Auſtrian army, which was more than double in number to his, but Daun declined coming to action. He now reſolved to attack this army of the Circles, and after making ſeveral feigned motions, brought his army oppoſite to them, at the village of Roſbach. The French, under Prince de Soubize, had now joined them and were ſaid to exceed 34,000 men; the Imperialiſts under the Prince of Saxe-Hilbourhauſen, were 20,000, all in health and ſpirits, while the Pruſſians were not in the whole 25,000 men, and thoſe greatly fatigued with forced marches. The two armies cannonaded each other all day, and at night the Generals took a reſolution to give battle to his Pruſſian Majeſty. On the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, they made the neceſſary preparations. The King, who perceived their deſigns, prepared to receive them, as he wiſhed for nothing more than a deciſive ſtroke. He harangued his troops, in a ſhort but pathetic ſpeech, expreſſing a juſt ſenſe of their hardſhips and his own critical ſituation in theſe words.

"My dear friends; the hour is come in which all that is, "and all that ought to be dear to us, depends on the ſwords "which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to "ſay but little, and there is no occaſion to ſay much. You "know that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no "watch-

" watching, no danger, that I have not ſhared with you hi-
" therto; and you now ſee me ready to lay down my life
" with you, and for you. All I aſk is the ſame pledge of
" fidelity and affection that I give; and let me add, not as an
" incitement to your courage, but as a teſtimony of my own
" gratitude, that from this hour till you go into quarters, your
" pay ſhall be double. Acquit yourſelves like men, and put
" your confidence in GOD." The effect this ſpeech had upon the troops was indeed aſtoniſhing. The ſubſtance of it was reported from rank to rank, with ſuch flattering circumſtances as the idea of Frederic's heroic turn would naturally ſuggeſt; till every corps of the army was wound up to a courage that approached nearly to madneſs, and nothing but the ſtrict diſcipline they were accuſtomed to, could have given it a proper direction in the heat of battle.

All the cavalry had been previouſly marched to the left, as the King intended to attack with that wing only, reſolving not to be ſurrounded. They charged with great impetuoſity, being moſt gallantly met on the ſpur by the French horſe, but they were overborne by the Pruſſian cavalry, routed, and even purſued for ſome time, till having gained an eminence they again rallied and were again put to flight, quitting the field entirely by four in the afternoon. During this charge of the cavalry the Pruſſian infantry on the left wing extended themſelves and ſtood a very briſk cannonade, which gauled them ſeverely for about fifteen minutes, when their fire began, which the French could neither ſtand, nor prevent them from carrying their batteries one after another, almoſt inſtantaneouſly; ſuch was the ardour of their attack, that the French infantry fled on that ſide and gave way in the utmoſt confuſion.

As the left wing of the Pruſſians advanced their right changed it's poſition, and meeting with a riſing ground planted ſixteen pieces of heavy cannon there, the fire of which taking the left wing of the enemy in front ſeverely handled them. At five the victory was decided, and the French fled on all ſides. The King expoſed himſelf to the hotteſt fire while he led on his troops. Three thouſand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, ſixty-three pieces of cannon, a great many colours, eight French generals, two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks, and ſix hundred private men were taken. The darkneſs of night ſaved from total deſtruction the remains of an army ſo formidable in the morning, and they were purſued on the three following days to Freybourg and ſo forward to Erfurth, before they had the leaſt time to breathe or could procure any refreſhment.

This victory was of the utmoſt conſequence to the king of Pruſſia; for a little before he fought it, the whole ſtate of his affairs ſeemed verging to utter ruin, but afterwards they began to put on a different face, and to promiſe him better fortune, owing intirely to the importance of this victory; he had been inveſted on the north by the Swedes and Ruſſians, on the eaſt and part of the ſouth by the Auſtrians, and on the weſt and ſouth by the French and the army of the Empire; and ſuch was the vicinity of thoſe powerful armies, which did not in the whole amount to leſs than 360,000 men, that they were all of them at one time hovering on the ſkirts of his dominions, and ſome of them had actually penetrated ſo far, that their detached parties laid his capital under contribution. In this ſituation, hemmed in on every ſide by the moſt formidable league the world had ever ſeen, ſome might have thought it prudent if he had offered to ſubmit; but will poſterity think his numerous enemies deſerve any honour if they had compelled him to it? Surrounded as he was, and obliged to make head againſt them all, it is not to be wondered at, that when he went through Leipſic to fight the army of the empire, he was, by continual fatigue, worn to a ſkeleton: He could bring no other army to an action, and conſidering the inferiority of his numbers and the unwillingneſs of the Imperialiſts, there were none he was more likely to defeat. By this battle he got rid of the army on one ſide, and checked the progreſs of marſhal Richlieu on the other, who was advancing from Hanover towards Magdeburgh; the Ruſſians had retired before, and the Swedes were at this time beſieged in Stralſund, ſo that of his enemies who appeared ſo formidable in Auguſt, the Auſtrians only were left to oppoſe him.

In order to check the operations in Sileſia, Frederick turned back from Erfurth to which place he had puſhed the remains of the combined army, and began a march of two hundred miles with troops collected from places above a hundred miles diſtant from each other, a little before the laſt battle; he made a rapid march through Thuringia, Miſnia and Luſatia, for Sileſia, while m. Keith entered Bohemia and advanced towards Prague, taking a conſiderable magazine at Leitmoritz.

The Auſtrians, upon the firſt notice of his Majeſty's march to fight the combined army, had reſolved to wreſt Sileſia out of his hands by ſome means or other, whatever might become of Saxony, which they pretended to recover for the king of Poland, their ally. Accordingly general Nadaſti laid ſiege to Schweidneitz and carried on the operations with ſuch ſpirit and intrepidity, that though the garriſon conſiſted of four thouſand

thouſand men, he forced them by his repeated attacks to ſurrender priſoners of war on the 11th of November; he undertook this enterprize principally with Bavarian troops, and he was no way ſparing of their lives. It was juſt after this conqueſt that the Auſtrians were informed of the King of Pruſſia's ſucceſs at Roſbach, upon which they concluded he would be with them as ſoon as poſſible, therefore they found it neceſſary to make uſe of the interim to the beſt advantage, whatever it coſt, as the preſent exigencies required vigorous meaſures. In this opinion they united their force and advanced to the intrenchments of the Prince of Bevern, where they overlooked the danger, from the importance of forcing them; they did not trouble their heads about the number of cannon which on every ſide defended this inacceſſible camp; they conſidered that by forcing him they ſhould get Breſlau, the capital of Sileſia, but did not reflect on the number of men it would coſt, and of courſe weaken their ſtrength, ſo neceſſary to keep the poſſeſſion. On the 22d of November they marched up to their intrenchments and about noon made two violent and unſucceſsful aſſaults; but the third, more intrepid than the former, forced the Pruſſians from the exterior lines, who thereupon retreated to others which they had behind them. The Auſtrians perceiving this, and conſidering the prodigious ſlaughter, all at once ceaſed the attack: during this ſuſpenſion, the Pruſſians were ſeized with a panic, apprehending their inner intrenchments would be forced in the night, and therefore while the Auſtrian troops ſtood infatuated with ſurprize at having, as they thought, their work to do over again, the Pruſſians made uſe of that opportunity to abandon their intrenchments, and retreat over the Oder, except a few that threw themſelves into Breſlau. The Auſtrian generals knew nothing of this ſudden motion, and were aſtoniſhed when they found their ſtrong hold evacuated. It is generally imagined the Prince of Bevern was aſhamed of having acted in this injudicious manner, and was afraid to ſee the king of Pruſſia, more eſpecially as his majeſty had ſent him orders not to quit the lines on any account, for that he would certainly be with him by December; and therefore in the morning of the 24th, he went to reconnoitre the enemy without eſcort, attended only by a groom, and was taken priſoner by a party of the enemy's Croats. This circumſtance was conſtrued into a premediated deſign, becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed that a man of his rank, a Prince, a commander in chief, ſhould undertake the dangerous taſk of reconnoitring attended by only one man, and that but a groom, ſuppoſing he

he had judged it neceſſary to ſee things with his own eyes. The loſs of the Auſtrians in this affair was not leſs than the amount of the whole Pruſſian force; but that of the Pruſſians, as they were never put into confuſion, did not exceed two thouſand eight hundred men. The Auſtrians acknowledged that ſuch another dear-bought victory would deſtroy the whole army. On the 25th they ſummoned Breſlau, and the garriſon ſurrendered on condition of not ſerving againſt the Auſtrians or their allies for two years. The king, as ſoon as he heard of theſe diſaſters, redoubled his efforts in puſhing forward to Sileſia; he reached Parchwitz, near Breſlau, on the 2d of December, and joined his troops, late commanded by the Prince of Bevern. The Auſtrians, who occupied the ſtrong camp of the Pruſſians, left it as ſoon as they heard the king was advancing to give them battle, which they reſolved to accept, and therefore began their march to meet him; but they halted at the village of Leuthen near Liſſa, and though they did not intrench themſelves, they felled great quantities of wood, and ſcattered them in their front, in order to make it impoſſible for the Pruſſians to act with regularity.

On the 5th of December the King of Pruſſia came up to their camp, which was defended by a numerous artillery placed on ſeveral advantageous eminences. He attacked the enemy's advanced corps, which conſiſted of Saxons, and cut them to pieces, alſo another corps who intended to take him in flank. The armies now came in ſight of each other, and an obſtinate and bloody conflict began; the Pruſſian artillery made terrible havock; it happened to be placed in ſuch a ſituation as to take the enemy in flank, and it cut them down in whole ranks: The King's infantry behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity, and his cavalry with the moſt aſtoniſhing fury. The Auſtrians made a brave reſiſtance, but they were obliged to give way; yet for ſome time they diſputed the ground inch by inch; at length, finding they could not withſtand the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, they fell into confuſion, and fled from the field in all the agonies of madneſs and deſpair; the officers and men were mingled promiſcuouſly in their flight, and the commanders never thought of rallying the troops but of ſaving themſelves. The King purſued them to Liſſa; 60,000 Auſtrians were ſlain, 1500 made priſoners, and two hundred pieces of cannon were taken. Before the battle the Auſtrian army is ſaid to have exceeded ſeventy thouſand men, but that of the Pruſſians did not amount to forty thouſand men, who were greatly fatigued by a forced march of two hundred miles. Notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon was ſet in, the King of Pruſ-

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ſia inveſted Breſlau, though defended by a garriſon of thirteen thouſand men, and compelled it to ſurrender by the 29th of December: The garriſon were made priſoners of war. The King having re-conquered all Sileſia, except Schweidnitz, he penetrated before the end of the year into the Auſtrian diviſion, and reduced ſeveral towns there, which ſo augmented the number of his priſoners, that before New-year's-day they far exceeded the number of his whole army.

The king of Pruſſia's victory at Roſbach not only prevented the French from purſuing their deſign of entering Magdebourg, but alſo revived the ſpirits of the Hanoverians and Heſſians, and encouraged them to reſume their arms. Richlieu, the French general, had behaved in the moſt cruel and infamous manner in many places. Where it was impoſſible to raiſe the contributions demanded, the ſoldiers were allowed to plunder, with their uſual methods of barbarity; an attempt had been made to take away the arms from the Hanoverian and Heſſian troops. Theſe open violations of the convention unbound the hands of their enemies; as ſoon as the King of Pruſſia had gained the battle of Roſbach, it was reſolved to re-aſſemble the Allied army; and the King of Pruſſia for this purpoſe furniſhed a general, which was Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, brother to the Duke of Brunſwick, and an officer in his own army. The firſt operation which they undertook was the reduction of the town and caſtle of Harbourg; the town was eaſily maſtered, but the caſtle maintained a vigorous ſiege till the commander was obliged to ſurrender.

The Britiſh affairs in America this year ſtill teemed with misfortunes and diſgrace, not a little owing to our late political diviſions, unſteadineſs and langour; the attack on Crown-Point, which had been the principal object in the beginning, was now laid aſide; the French were entire maſters of all the lakes, and had nothing to prevent their collecting the Indians together againſt us. Our fears did more in behalf of the French, than the French could have done for themſelves: we abandoned the Iroquois, who were once our allies, and might have been preſerved; and thus without one native in our alliance, our whole frontiers were expoſed to their incurſions. Inſtead of attacking Crown-Point, it was judged of more conſequence to go againſt Louiſbourgh. Accordingly a plan was drawn up, but it was ſuppoſed to have been communicated to the enemy as ſoon as it was finiſhed. The importance of the place was ſufficient to ſtimulate the French miniſtry to provide immediately for its ſecurity; accordingly m. de Beaufremont

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ſailed from Breſt on the 30th of January with a ſquadron of nine ſhips, having on board a body of troops; but as the harbour of Louiſbourgh could not be free from ice by the time he might be there, he was directed to ſteer for the Weſt-Indies, and reinforce their garriſons in that quarter, which he did, and arrived at Louiſbourg on the 5th of June, from whence he ſent a reinforcement of men and arms to Monſ. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops in Canada. About the beginning of April m. du Riveſt ſailed from Toulon with five ſhips, having alſo on board a number of troops, warlike ſtores and proviſions: He ſlipt thro' the gut of Gibraltar, after a ſmall encounter with admiral Saunders, and arrived at Louiſbourg on the 4th of June. On the 3d of May m. du Bois de la Mothe, with fourteen ſhips, having likewiſe on board a number of troops and preſents for the Indians, ſailed from Breſt, and arrived at Louiſbourgh on the 29th of June: Such was the vigilance and prudence of the French; while, on the other hand, the Engliſh under admiral Holbourn did not ſail from Cork till the 8th of May, nor arrive at Halifax, the appointed place of rendezvous, till the month of July.

Lord Loudon being appointed commander in chief was now arrived. He immediately began to collect troops from the northern provinces, and other ſettlements to New-York. Unfortunately for both his lordſhip and the ſervice, a difference happened between him and the principal inhabitants, where he was neceſſitated to quarter the troops. An embargo, by which he detained all the ſhips of North America in port, to hinder the enemy from receiving intelligence of his deſigns and render proviſions cheap, farther diſguſted them; and they had reaſon for it. A little acquaintance with the exports of proviſions from thoſe ſettlements, would have convinced him that theſe provinces were in no danger of being exhauſted, and the enemy could eaſily receive intelligence by other channels. His lordſhip no doubt intended this for the beſt, and ſhewed his zeal on all occaſions to advance the ſervice, by ingratiating himſelf with the more moderate part of the principal people, and greatly contributed to unite the provincial and regular troops to act jointly on future occaſions.

Having now aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand men, he embarked with theſe at New-York for Halifax in Nova Scotia, that they might act jointly on future occaſions and with more harmony than they had hitherto done. It is well worth obſerving, that he ſet ſail on the 19th of June, convoyed only by three frigates, and arrived at Halifax on the 29th, during all

all which time the French fleets were entire maſters of the ſeas in North America; and therefore there was the utmoſt hazard that he and all the troops would be made priſoners by them, as admiral Holbourn did not arrive till ſome time after lord Loudon had *fortunately* landed at Halifax. On the 9th of July admiral Holbourn arrived with the troops from Cork; when a junction of the forces was made, it was found they amounted to 12,000 effective men; and the fleet conſiſted of fifteen ſail of the line, eight frigates, &c. Near a month was ſpent at Halifax in exerciſing the troops, and by feints accuſtoming them to divers ſorts of attacks and defence. Theſe ſteps were freely cenſured by ſome, and lord Charles Hay was put under arreſt for ſpeaking his ſentiments on this occaſion. He ſolicited to be tried by a court-martial, that his character might be cleared up, as he had only thrown out ſome haſty reflections that the troops might have been better employed; but he died before the proceedings were cloſed. It may be however affirmed in juſtice to his memory, that he ſhewed a becoming zeal for the ſervice, and even the enemy conſidered him as an officer of great perſonal bravery.

All things being in readineſs, the troops embarked on the 1ſt of Auguſt for Louiſbourgh; but on the 4th a French packet-boat was brought into Halifax, ſuppoſed from Louiſbourgh to France. By letters found on board, it appeared that there was then in the harbour ſeventeen ſhips of the line, three frigates, and ſix hundred men in garriſon, beſides three thouſand natives and thirteen hundred Indians; that the place was well furniſhed with all kinds of military ſtores, and the men in high ſpirits, wiſhing only to be attacked. Some people conſidered all this as a contrivance of the enemy; for the boat was chaſed many hours, during which time the letters were not thrown overboard, a precaution generally obſerved on ſuch occaſions in time of war. However upon the receipt of this intelligence, the expedition was laid aſide, and lord Loudon ſet ſail with the troops for New-York, where he arrived on the 30th of Auguſt; and admiral Holbourn cruized off Cape Breton, hoping when the froſty ſeaſon ſhould force the French ſhips to leave the harbour and return to Europe, he might carry ſome of them to England, in recompence for an inactive campaign. He was diſappointed even of this, and obliged to conſult his own ſafety; for on the 24th of September the fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, which forced him off this ſtation. One of the ſhips was loſt, eleven diſmaſted, and the reſt returned to England in a ſhattered condition; while the French fleet ſeizing this opportunity ſailed to Europe unmoleſted.

As our northern provinces had been drained of troops for the intended attack on Louiſbourgh, that frontier was expoſed to the enemy's incurſions from Canada; for during the abſence of lord Loudon, Fort William-Henry on lake George fell a ſacrifice to the French. This garriſon was fatally neglected, though an attempt had miſcarried to ſurprize it early in March, when the lake was frozen. The French paſſed it with no proviſions or ammunition but what they drew on ſledges, intending to ſcale the works; but the centinels gave the alarm, and proper diſpoſitions being made by major Ayres for their reception, they retired. This attempt ſhews of what conſequence the French thought the place; and it was proper to have reinforced it for fear of a ſecond attack. This might in all likelihood have prevented it's loſs. However, ſcarce had his Lordſhip propoſed the expedition againſt Louiſbourgh, before this ſiege was reſolved on, and the marquis de Montcalm appeared before the fort with 10,000 men, and a large train of artillery fit for ſuch a ſervice. On the 9th, colonel Monroe was forced to ſurrender for want of ammunition, the garriſon marching out with their arms, on condition not to ſerve for eighteen months; but many of them were butchered by the Indians, together with the women and children. So effectually had the French taught theſe ſavages their own diſregard to treaties, that infants were ſeized by the heels and their brains daſhed out at the gates of the fort. Some women had their throats cut: others had their bodies ripped up and their bowels let out, and thrown in their faces, with other ſhocking inſtances of rage and barbarity. All this cruelty was perpetrated in the preſence of French regulars and their unfeeling commander, who never interpoſed to prevent it. That part of the garriſon which eſcaped this butchery, arrived at Fort Edward, after a cloſe purſuit of ſeven miles by theſe barbarians, in the moſt deplorable condition. General Webb was an indifferent ſpectator of the ſiege, and adviſed the ſurrender, though he had under his command near 4000 men; but theſe were neither ſufficient to engage Montcalm, nor throw ſuccours into the fort.

Admiral Coates had ſailed with a ſquadron for Jamaica this year in February, where he was ſtationed to protect our trade in thoſe parts. In October he detached captain Forreſt with three ſhips to cruize off Cape Francois, for the enemy's ſhips that were bound to Europe. At this time four French men of war and three frigates lay in the harbour. Theſe were commanded by m. Kerſin, who had returned without ſucceſs from an attempt on our ſettlements upon the coaſt of Guinea, tho' he

he had taken ſeveral trading veſſels, belonging to London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, and diſpoſed of their ſlaves to great advantage. He now ſeemed deſirous of nothing but getting ſafe to Europe, when captain Forreſt appeared before the port, with his colours flying in contempt of the Frenchman, who took a reſolution of forcing him from his ſtation.

With this view he ſtrengthened his crews by an additional number of ſailors and ſoldiers from the fort, with plenty of ammunition and put to ſea.

When captain Forreſt deſcried the enemy, he called his two captains on board him, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen you know your 'own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy: Shall we give 'them battle?" They anſwered in the affirmative. 'Then, 'ſaid he, fight them we will; there is no time to be loſt; re-'turn to your ſhips, and get them ready for engaging.' The Engliſh bore down upon the enemy with uncommon ſpirit, and began the action, which raged with the utmoſt fury above two hours and a half, all the while in the ſight of the Cape; when the French, finding themſelves greatly damaged, and notwithſtanding their vaſt ſuperiority unable to take any of the Britiſh ſhips, ran away, and ſought their preſervation in the harbour. Captain Forreſt returned to Jamaica to refit his ſhips.

Another gallant action of this brave officer deſerves to be mentioned. He in a ſubſequent cruize, near the iſland of Hiſpaniola, took, by a well-concerted project, a whole fleet of nine French merchantmen, richly laden, with a ſingle ſhip, in the neighbourhood of five harbours, into any of which, could the enemy but have eſcaped, they might have been ſecure, and carried them into Jamaica, where they were all condemned.

In Aſia the Britiſh arms were triumphant; but this muſt be entirely attributed to the vigilance, prudence and courage of ſome good officers, being at too great a diſtance to receive orders from thoſe unſteady men, who ſtill preſerved great influence. The company's diſputes with the Nabob of Bengal, the riſe of which we have already explained, were terminated to their great advantage by admiral Watſon and colonel Clive. After they had reduced the fort of Buſbudgia, they proceeded to Hughly up the Ganges, and reduced that alſo, becauſe the Nabob refuſed to come into terms, which they offered to him in a moſt polite and civil manner at the cloſe of the laſt year; but he was too haughty to think of treating, and yet was afraid of the Britiſh power. To conceal his terror he made a motion with his army towards Calcutta, upon which colonel Clive determined to give him battle in his camp; and on the 5th of

February he forced the Nabob from all his poſts, though defended by between forty and fifty thouſand men. This ſtroke was ſeconded by a letter from admiral Watſon, intimating that this was only a ſpecimen of what the Britiſh arms, when provoked, could perform, and perfectly anſwered the intention of bringing about a pacification; for in four days a treaty of peace was ſigned, by which the Engliſh Eaſt-India company were eſtabliſhed in all their former privileges, an immunity from all taxes was granted, and a reſtitution promiſed for all that the trade had ſuffered in the taking of Calcutta. As this treaty was in a manner extorted from him, he never intended to fulfil the conditions; his principal counſellors were alſo in the intreſt of the French, who were continually gratifying them with preſents, hoping by that means to embarraſs the Engliſh. The day after this treaty was ſigned, admiral Watſon and colonel Clive received advice, that war had been declared in Europe between the Engliſh and French: This of courſe opened a new ſcene; and theſe brave officers, who had the honour and intereſt of their country at heart, immediately reſolved on attacking the French fort of Chandenagore, ſituated higher up the river than Calcutta. On the 24th of March, after a ſiege of four days, this place was reduced, though the ſtrongeſt the French had in Bengal, and 183 pieces of cannon were found in it; five hundred Europeans and ſeven hundred Blacks were made priſoners. There being no longer any thing to apprehend from the French power in this part, they conſulted how to act with regard to the Nabob, who had from time to time, upon frivolous pretences, deferred to execute the articles of the treaty, being every day more inconſtant and inſolent. Some time was taken up in thoſe deliberations; they were afraid to precipitate a war with him, leſt it ſhould be fatal in it's conſequences; and yet his conduct juſtified ſuch a ſtep. But in the midſt of theſe perplexities, a favourable circumſtance unexpectedly appeared. The ſeverity and fickle diſpoſition of the Nabob ſpread terror among thoſe about him; they did not think themſelves ſafe under the command of ſuch a man, and began to ſpeak of depriving him of his power, becauſe he abuſed it. Among theſe was one of great intereſt and authority, named Laitty; he put himſelf at the head of this conſpiracy, who communicated their deſigns to the Engliſh. Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, a general of the Nabob's army, joining the number, it was thought proper to conclude a treaty with theſe conſpirators, upon the baſis of the former with the Nabob, before our troops took the field for their aſſiſtance, as the Engliſh, by their accounts, had certain knowledge that the Nabob

Nabob ſhortly intended to attack them. In this treaty nothing was omitted that might put the company's affairs for the future upon a firm and laſting eſtabliſhment; and it was alſo agreed that Meer Jaffier ſhould be appointed Nabob. Every thing being now ready, colonel Clive began his march to Plaiſſy on the Ganges, and took poſt on a very advantageous ground. On the 22d of June the Nabob's army approached and gave him battle with near forty thouſand men and forty pieces of cannon; but half of the troops, who were under the command of Jaffier Aly Cawn, and the other conſpirators were inactive. The Nabob knew not how to inveſt colonel Clive's intrenchments, which he might eaſily have done with ſuch a numerous army; and the colonel taking the advantage of his ignorance, totally defeated him with a very little loſs among his own troops. Meer Jaffier now declared himſelf, and congratulated mr. Clive on his victory. The Nabob fled to Muxadavad, his capital, with a few of his attendants who continued faithful. Meer Jaffier entered the city while it was in conſternation, by the advice of mr. Clive, and was by this gallant officer placed in the antient ſeat of the Nabobs, where he received the homage of all ranks of people. The depoſed Nabob wandered about an unfortunate fugitive, purſued by his enemies, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, with ſcarce cloaths to his back, till worn out with hunger and fatigue he at length took refuge in in the houſe of a man, whoſe ears he had cauſed to be cut off in one of the tranſports of his paſſion: This perſon delivered him up to his purſuers, and Jaffier Aly Cawn's ſon ordered him to be put to death. This great revolution was accompliſhed in about thirteen days, with a ſmall force and very little loſs, and the India company gained ſuch a number of valuable advantages, as far exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations.

Mr. Pitt on his return to the adminiſtration, reſolved upon an expedition to the coaſt of France, as the beſt method of diſtreſſing the enemy and to prevent their troops from being reinforced in Germany, as they hence would be obliged to defend their own coaſts where the alarm was propoſed to be kept up for a conſiderable extent. This meaſure was undoubtedly a good one, according to the ſtate of affairs at that time. France had embarked in the quarrels of the empire, and was marching numerous armies to increaſe thoſe diſturbances; an attempt therefore to invade her coaſts and deſtroy her maritime ſtores would be of ſervice to Britain, by weakening the ſtrength of her rival, and ſerve Germany by obliging the French to ſtay at home for the defence of their own maritime provinces.

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Some few, who were againſt this kind of war, urged it was cowardly, weak, and not methodical; but they were ſoon overruled by others, who aſſerted, that it was no matter which way the enemy was annoyed, provided ſhe was but ſenſibly hurt. A large fleet was therefore equipped, the command of which was given to admiral Hawke, who was aſſiſted by the admirals Knowls and Broderick. A body of troops, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, were put on board, commanded in chief by ſir John Mordaunt, aſſiſted by the generals Conway and Cornwallis. Their deſtination was kept a profound ſecret; and whilſt it exerciſed the penetration of all the politicians in Europe, it filled France with the moſt ſerious alarm. The deſign was to make a diverſion in favour of our Allies in Germany, by drawing a part of the French army from Weſtphalia, to the defence of their own coaſts. After much time ſpent in making preparations, and ſeveral delays, the fleet ſailed on the 8th of September, the day on which the Convention of Cloſter-Seven was ſigned. On the 21ſt the fleet appeared before Rochfort; and it was then known that they intended to attack it; but as the officers had formed no plan to be followed in this enterprize, ſome time was taken up in fixing upon one. A concurrence of miſtakes ruined this expedition: And it will be hard to determine, whether they were purpoſely framed or accidentally fell out. The French nation is ſaid to have been alarmed by the troops lying on the Iſle of Wight ſome time before they ſailed, and they had very good intelligence from England. Two days after the fleet made the enemy's land, the Viper ſloop was diſpatched from England, with the following letter from mr. Secretary Pitt to ſir Edward Hawke, and to ſir John Mordaunt, dated Whitehall, September 15, 1757, and received by them on board the Ramillies on the 22d day of September.

'SIR,

'HIS Majeſty, by his ſecret inſtructions, dated the 5th 'day of Auguſt laſt, having directed the return of the 'fleet under your command, together with the land forces on 'board,' "ſo as to be in England at, or about, as near as "may be, the end of September, unleſs the circumſtances of "the ſhips and forces ſhall neceſſarily require their return "ſooner:" 'I am now to ſignify to you the King's pleaſure, 'that you do not conſider the abovementioned time, limited 'for your return, as intended in any manner to affect, or in'terfere with, the full exertion of the firſt and principal object 'of the expedition; namely,' "Attempting, as far as ſhall be

" be found practicable, a deſcent on the French coaſt, at or " near Rochfort, in order to attack if practicable, and, by a " vigorous impreſſion, force that place, and to burn and de- " ſtroy, to the utmoſt of your power, all ſhipping, docks, " magazines, and arſenals, that ſhall be found there, and ex- " ert ſuch other efforts, as ſhall be judged moſt proper for an- " noying the enemy." ' And with regard to any other par- ' ticular attempt, which, agreeably to your orders, you ſhall ' have commenced, and in the execution whereof you ſhall be ' actually engaged, it is alſo his Majeſty's pleaſure that you do ' not deſiſt from, or break up the ſame, merely and ſolely on ' account of the time, limited for your return, by the inſtruc- ' tions abovementioned; but that, notwithſtanding the ſame, ' you do continue with the fleet, during ſuch a farther number ' of days as may afford a competent time, for the completion ' of any operation under the above circumſtances; after which ' you are to take care to return, with the fleet under your com- ' mand and the forces on board, in the manner directed by ' your former inſtructions.

' I am, &c.

' W. PITT.'

It has been ſuppoſed by ſome, that the ſloop, or the Harwich man of war, which ſailed at that time from Plymouth on the ſame deſtination, carried other diſpatches, of a more ſecret nature, and ſaid to be utterly unknown to the miniſter.

On the 23d of September it was reſolved to ſecure the little iſland of Aix, ſituated on the mouth of the river Charante, which runs up to Rochfort, it was apprehended the French on this iſland might make ſome obſtructions to the landing of the troops; accordingly, captain, now commodore, Howe, in the Magnanime, almoſt inſtantly reduced it, with the loſs only of two ſailors. At the time this little conqueſt was made, it was expected the troops were to be immediately landed; but on the 25th, the military officers reſolved in a council of war, that an attempt upon Rochfort was neither adviſeable nor practicable. On the 8th of October, after having moſt imprudently alarmed the French coaſt, it was reſolved to land at the mouth of the river Charante, and at twelve o'clock at night the troops were put into the boats, where they remained four hours on a boiſterous ſea, and then were ordered back again. Upon which admiral Broderick gave notice to ſir Edward Hawke, ' That having prepared all the boats with proper ' officers to land the troops, he was now to acquaint him, ' that the generals were come to a reſolution not to land that ' night,

'night, but to wait till day-light, when they could have a 'full view of the ground whereon they were to land.' Sir Edward then deſired mr. Broderick to enquire of the general officers, whether they had any further military operations to propoſe, that the ſquadron might not be unneceſſarily detained: To which the commander of the land forces ſent this anſwer: 'We all agree in returning directly to England.' Upon which Sir Edward ſent a letter to mr. Pitt, the concluſion of which is thus: 'It was the *daily* expectation of their under-'dertaking ſomething, which induced me to ſtay here ſo long. 'As I have got their final reſolution, I ſhall ſet ſail for England 'to-morrow morning.' When the fleet arrived, the whole nation was in a ferment; they exclaimed againſt the commanders, and cried aloud for juſtice on thoſe who had neglected their duty. The officers blamed the miniſtry; who, to acquit themſelves, directed an enquiry to be made into the cauſes of the miſcarriage. The officers appointed to make this enquiry, gave it as their opinion, that the cauſes of the miſcarriage were, 'Not attacking fort Fouras by ſea, at the ſame time 'that it ſhould have been attacked by land: and coming to 'a reſolution on the 25th of September, that an attempt on 'Rochfort was neither adviſeable nor practicable, though at 'that time there were no troops nor batteries on ſhore to pre-'vent a deſcent.' It is proper to explain this matter. Sir Edward Hawke firſt propoſed laying a ſixty gun ſhip againſt Fouras in order to facilitate the landing of the troops, and Thierry, a noted French pilot, who gave much of that information on which the expedition was planned, undertook to conduct ſuch a ſhip for that purpoſe; but it was laid aſide upon a repreſentation from vice-admiral Knowles, that even a bomb ketch had run aground at above two miles diſtance from the fort. As it is probable thoſe who conducted the bomb ketch miſſed the channel through ignorance; and a ſloop might be driven on a ſand at the mouth of the Thames, by a pilot ignorant of the navigation of that river, it excited wonder and aſtoniſhment, that Thierry (who in Sir Edward Hawke's letter to mr. Pitt, is ſaid to behave with great bravery and ſkill) had declared he could carry the Magnanime, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, within a quarter of a mile of Fort Fouras, and was not permitted to try his ſkill.---Several evidences prove the attempt to land *was practicable*. Lieutenant-colonel Clarke ſaid, that he, with three more officers, went on ſhore, and walked two miles, over a ſpungy neck of land, called Iſle Denis, to the ſolid continent, *without moleſtation*; and he ſaid the army might eaſily have landed at Chatelaillon Bay. This opinion

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he formed on the ſpot. Colonel Wolfe (who afterwards took Quebec) confirmed his opinion, viz. that a landing on that bay might have been made entirely out of the reach of the enemy's artillery. Admiral Broderick deſcribed this landing-place to be a fair, hard, ſandy beach, and in his opinion a landing might have been made here with eaſe, for the tranſports could come within half a mile of the bay. Thus a principal cauſe of the miſcarriage was attributed to the military officers. However, the commander in chief, in order to vindicate himſelf, applied for a court martial, which was accordingly granted. He was brought priſoner before the court and charged with diſobedience of orders; but after the ſame evidences were examined, with the addition of admiral Hawke's depoſition, he was declared *not guilty*. However the public diſcontent was far from ſubſiding, and a ſuſpicion was harboured that the miſcarriage was owing to ſome ſecret cauſe; yet the miniſtry kept their ground, and were allowed to have laid the ſcheme on true principles for annoying the enemy, on the beſt intelligence, well compared, and frequently deliberated upon, though all things conſidered, a profound ſecrecy was obſerved as to the deſtination of ſo powerful an armament. Mr. Pitt, immediately on the fleet's return, publiſhed the orders which were tranſmitted to the commanders, concluding, *That on ſuch a day the forces arrived without having landed on the coaſt of France*. This was an honeſt appeal to the people, which gained him their entire confidence; and it was well rewarded in the diſcovery he made, by this fruitleſs expedition, of ſuch an enterprizing genius as Wolfe.

An attempt was made in the city to petition for a parliamentary enquiry into this affair, which was prevented by a meſſage from the King to the Manſion-houſe, acquainting the Lord Mayor, that he would order an enquiry to be made into the conduct of thoſe concerned. From that enquiry it appears the King's orders were diſobeyed and yet the General was acquitted, when Byng's diſgrace and ignominious death were freſh in people's memories, which ſtrengthened the ſuſpicion that ſomething not proper to be explained had rendered this expedition abortive.

Notwithſtanding it had failed, the European powers concerned in naval affairs ſaw plainly into the ſpirit of this meaſure, and began to change their opinion of the Britiſh councils. They ſaw our warlike ſyſtem was founded on conveniency, and that we were not diſcouraged though the firſt attempt had failed. Sweden and Denmark concluded a treaty, in conſequence

ſequence of which their ſquadrons united for the ſecurity of their ports in the Baltick. The Dutch augmented their naval force, and the Italian ſtates, in conjunction with the king of Naples, took every precaution for the ſecurity of their ports. Spain and Portugal truſted to their extenſive commerce with Britain for ſecurity. France only was unprepared for an enemy who could vary his method of attack, and was actually preparing a variety of ſucceſſive ſchemes to attack her with the utmoſt vigour. She ſaw the people and the miniſtry united; neither the confidence of one nor the openneſs of the other was abuſed; the ſpirit of the nation was ready to execute whatever a miniſter of whoſe abilities they were convinced ſhould propoſe. They had experienced his honeſty, and found him neither influenced by party nor ſelf-intereſt; an unbounded love of his country ſwallowed up every perſonal regard. His enemies were confounded; his friends were tranſported with admiration at the ſplendor of ſuch publick virtue. Unaminity was the neceſſary effect of it; and the moſt effectual meaſures were purſued in conſequence, both to humble the enemy by ſea, protect our colonies in America, act on the offenſive there, ruin the French armies in Germany, cover the territories which they had waſted to ſpight Britain, re-arm the inſulted troops, and enable them to chaſe thoſe plunderers croſs the Weſer again. Add to all this the timely ſupport given to his Pruſſian majeſty, when he might otherwiſe have been cruſhed, though confeſſedly the moſt active and punctual ally which this nation had been engaged with.

All this conſidered we do not wonder at the number of men or the immenſe ſums raiſed for the enſuing year. On the 1ſt of December the parliament met; they voted ſixty thouſand ſeamen, and fifty-four thouſand ſoldiers; and the ſupplies amounted to 10,486,457 l. Near two millions of this was for our German allies, and yet there appeared a perfect harmony in the houſe and an approbation of the meaſure in all ranks of people.

Indeed the true caſe was, the old miniſters were reconciled to the new ones; at leaſt both parties came to a kind of capitulation, and while they were unanimous in council, it was not very probable that their adherents ſhould differ in parliament. Add to all this, the King became better reconciled to mr. Pitt, becauſe they perfectly agreed in one very principal point, which was that of an inveterate hatred to the French; in which the whole nation agreed with them: But the difficulty lay in the means how to exert this vindictive ſpirit and give it it's full effect with the ſtrength of the whole nation;

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each was wedded to oppoſite principles: His Majeſty was for a continental war, on account of his native and electoral dominions; mr. Pitt was for a naval war, as the only method of ruining the French trade, aggrandizing this nation, and ſecuring it's dependencies. We will only add, that no favour was uſed by one, nor any low cunning by the other; both were deſirous of the public welfare; they were equally above baſeneſs, and equally deſirous of reducing the enemy. Mr. Pitt neither wanted nor ſought cloſet favour, in order to undermine his fellow-ſervants; and his Majeſty equally deteſted being dictated to: He was a warrior himſelf, an admirer of reſolution and ſpirit; he had been bred to the camp and to real buſineſs. Hence aroſe that noble independency of ſpirit, which cruſhes the very embryoes of intrigue, and all the little arts of narrow minds: Hence it was, that after the miniſtry were ſettled, the national buſineſs went on with ſucceſs, and without interruption: No babbling tales of courtiers, no ſpies in the enemy's pay, could either divert mr. Pitt, or impede the operations of the war.

(1758.)

WE now come to the moſt glorious æra in the Britiſh annals; an æra that is reſplendent with victories, proclaiming to the lateſt period of time the glory and valour of Britons in ſubduing their proud and implacable enemies. In the month of March a ſmall armament was ſent under the command of commodore Marſh, and a detachment of marines, commanded by major Maſon, to attack the French ſettlements at Senegal. The project had been originally conceived by one mr. Cumming, a ſenſible quaker, who had been a factor on the coaſt of Africa, by which he had contracted an acquaintance with the Mooriſh King of that part of South Barbary, called by us the Gum Coaſt, or the Sandy Deſart of Zara, who being well diſpoſed towards the Engliſh, and bearing an utter enmity to the French, declared he ſhould never be eaſy till they were entirely driven from the river of Senegal: He told mr. Cumming, that if the King of England would ſend a force ſufficient, and drive out the French, he would grant an excluſive trade to his ſubjects. At the ſame time he favoured mr. Cumming with an excluſive trade, by a charter written in the Arabic language. Mr. Cumming, during his ſtay in Africa, made the moſt minute enquiry concerning the ſtrength and ſituation of the French. At his return to Eng-

land he communicated his intelligence to the Board of Trade, and with it a plan for attacking the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The miniſtry adopted the ſcheme; and mr. Cumming, being the contriver of it, was appointed principal director of the expedition, and ſailed with it, charged with a letter of credence to the Mooriſh King. The fleet arrived on the coaſt of Africa in April; and, notwithſtanding the obſtruction of a very dangerous bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, the marines were landed (May 1.) on the bank of the river. Upon which the French governor of fort Louis ſurrendered directly; and next day the corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to the King of England. This was the firſt ſucceſsful expedition which the Britiſh miniſtry had ſent out during the war, and failed not to be greatly inſtrumental in removing our deſpondency. The conqueſt of Senegal added to the commercial intereſts of Britain, and poured freſh wealth into the hands of her traders: The commodities imported from this ſettlement are that valuable article gum ſenega, hides, bees-wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold duſt, negro ſlaves, oſtrich feathers, ambergris, indigo and civet. Hitherto we had been obliged to buy our gum ſenega of the Dutch, who purchaſed it of the French, and then ſet what price they pleaſed on it to us. After the ſurrender of Senegal, the fleet viſited the iſland of Goree, another French ſettlement at the entrance of the river; but found it too ſtrong to be attempted by their ſmall force.

When mr. Pitt firſt came into the adminiſtration, commodore Stevens was diſpatched with a ſquadron and ſome troops, to reinforce his Majeſty's fleet in the Eaſt-Indies, in order to act there with diſcretionary power, while his attention was employed on other objects nearer home. Admiral Watſon and colonel Clive having gained many advantages over the enemy, it was not only mr. Pitt's aim to improve them, while the heat and thirſt of conqueſt prevailed; but likewiſe to prevent the French deriving any material ſervices in India from a fleet, which they had ſent, commanded by m. d'Ache, and 8000 troops, which were put on board, commanded by general Lally. Commodore Steevens joined admiral Pocoke, who had ſucceeded to the chief command on the death of admiral Watſon. M. d'Ache arrived at Pondicherry, where general Lally with the troops were landed. The ſcene of action was now to begin. M. Lally had boaſted before he left Europe, that he would drive the Engliſh totally off the coaſt of Coromandel. He was warm and fool-hardy; and full of the idea of conqueſt which had the aſcendancy of his imagination when he took the

the field; he vaunted of the great acts he would perform, and the cruelties he reſolved to inflict on the Engliſh; but, like a true barbarian whoſe paſſion exceeds his reaſon, or one bereft of prudence, he precipitately opened the campaign before he had provided the means of ſupport for his army, which had been conſiderably augmented by ſeveral reinforcements. He marched directly againſt fort St. David, while the French fleet ſailed away to cover the ſiege.

Admiral Pococke having intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſailed likewiſe to fort St. David, and engaged the French fleet, which being ſuperior in number, and three of the Britiſh captains behaving in a cowardly manner, he gained no material advantage, though he continued the fight with great inequality till night, when the two fleets ſeparated; the French returned to Pondicherry, and the Engliſh to Madraſs, to repair their damages. Both ſquadrons having quitted the ſtation off fort St. David, Lally puſhed the ſiege of that place with vigour; which being in want of water and ammunition, major Polier, who commanded the troops, ſurrendered in twelve days. The conqueror blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of rubbiſh; and beſides plundering the inhabitants, as well of fort St. David as of all the villa's round about, he wantonly ſet fire to their habitations, and endeavoured to deſtroy the produce of the whole country. But what was the conſequence? Lally found, that by making a deſart of the country he was unable to ſubſiſt his army; and, to his misfortune, the finances of France were ſo extremely low, by the large ſubſidies which the French were obliged to pay ſeveral of the European powers, to form and preſerve the continental ſyſtem of Europe againſt Pruſſia and Hanover, that their miniſtry could not afford to ſend him any money; ſo that now he could neither buy nor plunder. In this dilemma he reſolved to extort a conſiderable ſum from the king of Tanjore, a prince of the country; but that chief refuſing to comply with the requeſt, he in a rage marched his army and laid ſiege to the capital. The ſkill and courage of ſome Engliſh engineers bravely defended the place: In a ſhort time Lally's ammunition began to run low and his proviſions were entirely exhauſted. The people of the country, who had either heard of, or ſuffered by his cruelties, cut off all the ſupplies to his army in return for his barbarities, which reduced him almoſt to a ſtate of famine. At length, unable to ſtay any longer, he, tortured with all the pangs of chagrin and diſappointment, raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, and left his cannon behind. He returned to Pondicherry, in the neigh-

neighbourhood of which the troops were refreſhed. In the month of October he marched into Arcot, and began to make preparations for the ſiege of Madraſs. Lally's army at this time was ſo numerous, that the Engliſh forces on the coaſt of Coromandel were inſufficient to oppoſe him in the field. Soon after the ſurrender of fort St. David, admiral Pococke again ſailed in queſt of the French fleet, whom he found off Pondicherry; but they no ſooner ſaw him, than they put to ſea in the utmoſt hurry: He then gave chace and on the third day came up with them; but the French would not ſtand a fair engagement; they made a kind of running fight in an irregular line till night, when, under favour of the darkneſs, they eſcaped back to Pondicherry. However they were ſo much damaged by this engagement, that after a ſhort ſtay there, d'Ache was obliged to ſail to the iſland of Bourbon to refit, leaving the ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas to admiral Steevens, whoſe fleet was much inferior to his in number of ſhips, men, and weight of metal. When Lally formed his reſolution of laying ſiege to Madraſs, he ſent orders to Golconda for m. de Buſſey and m. Morcain to join him with part of their forces, and leave the command of the remainder at Maſſulipatum to the marquis de Conflans. Soon after m. de Buſſy was departed, the neighbouring powers reſolved to throw off the French yoke, and entering one of the towns which the French poſſeſſed, tore down the colours; upon which Conflans reſolved to check their inſolence, and marched his forces againſt them. In this diſtreſs the chief applied to colonel Clive at Calcutta for aſſiſtance; who, after deliberating on the nature and conſequence of the enterprize, detached colonel Forde with a body of Europeans. This officer attacked m. de Conflans in the month of December, and gained a complete victory over him. Maſſulipatum fell in conſequence: The Engliſh gained poſſeſſion of an extenſive ſea coaſt, and other conſiderable advantages, beſides being paid for their aſſiſtance; and likewiſe concluded a treaty with another chief, in which it was agreed, that the French ſhould be totally extirpated the country.

As the primary object of the war was America, mr. Pitt loſt no time in exerting his vigilance, and making early preparations for effectually cruſhing the enemy's power in that part of the world. At this time the German affairs, though they tenderly touched the king, were not of ſuch importance, as to engroſs any thing more than a ſmall part of the attention of the miniſtry: Mr. Pitt was not yet brought to conſider them as of the higheſt importance; he was ſtill for reducing

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the enemy's ſettlements abroad, particularly in America, and aſſiſting Germany only by annoying the coaſt of France. The firſt object that he aimed at was Louiſbourg, a place of the utmoſt importance to the French, which when taken, would be a great ſtep towards annihilating their power in North America. For this purpoſe, he propoſed at the beginning of the year to equip a large fleet. His precaution directed all the neceſſary preparations to be timely executed, his penetration and love for the publick pointed out the fitteſt officers for ſervice, having declared with ſome warmth on the inactivity and diſgraces in America during the laſt year, 'That 'he believed there was a determined reſolution, both in the 'naval and military commanders, againſt any vigorous 'exertion of the national power in the ſervice of their coun-'try. He affirmed, that though his majeſty appeared rea-'dy to embrace every meaſure propoſed by his miniſters, for 'the honour and intereſt of his Britiſh dominions yet ſcarce a 'man could be found, with whom the execution of any one 'plan, in which there was the leaſt appearance of any danger, 'could with confidence be truſted. He particularized the 'inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom 'the nation had conceived ſireat expectations; he complained, 'that this noble commander had expreſſed the moſt contemp-'tuous diſregard for the civil power, from which he derived 'his authority, by neglecting to tranſmit for a conſiderable 'length of time any other advice of his proceedings, but 'what appeared on a written ſcrap of paper. He obſerved, 'that with a force by ſea and land, greater than ever the 'nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and mini-'ſtry ardently deſirous of redeeming her glory, ſuccouring 'her allies, and promoting her true intereſt, a ſhameful diſ-'like to ſervice every where prevailed, and few ſeemed affected 'with any other zeal, than that of aſpiring to the higheſt 'poſts, and graſping the largeſt ſalaries.'

This ſpirited remonſtrance was made on a public and ſolemn occaſion, and it had a wonderful effect; men capable of ſerving their country; men of courage, ability and merit, were employed. Accordingly admiral Boſcawen, with a fleet of men of war, and a conſiderable number of land forces, ſet ſail from England on the 19th of February. This was timeing things in a proper manner; the enemy had yet no force in America equal to what admiral Boſcawen carried, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation. However, as ſoon as they were acquainted with that brave officer's deſtination, they equipped two fleets at different ports for the relief of Louiſ-

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bourg: One at Toulon, the commander of which was m. de la Clue; but every thing was prepared in order to fruſtrate theſe deſigns; an Engliſh fleet, under the direction of admiral Oſborn, was ſtationed at the Streights of Gibraltar. The French court equipped a ſecond ſquadron at Toulon, to ſtrengthen de la Clue, and enable him to force his way through the Streights; the command of this ſquadron was given to m. de Queſne. De la Clue had ſailed before the other was ready, and was blocked up by admiral Oſborn in the Spaniſh port of Carthagena. Du Queſne came to relieve him, and fell in with the Engliſh fleet, when the Monmouth of 64 guns, captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant of 80 guns, commanded by du Queſne in perſon, for a conſiderable time, and it is thought would alone have taken her, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the enemy's force; but two other Engliſh ſhips coming up, du Queſne ſtruck to the Monmouth, the captain of whom was killed, but the ſhip was bravely fought by the firſt lieutenant, mr. Carkett. The Orphee, another of the enemy's ſhips, was likewiſe taken; and the third, called the Oriflamme, was drove aſhore on the coaſt of Spain. The only remaining veſſel of this ſquadron was a frigate, named the Pleiade, which being an excellent ſailor, eſcaped back to Toulon, and carried the tidings of this diſaſter. Thus was the ſcheme of relieving Louiſbourg fruſtrated; for m. de la Clue, not being able to force his paſſage through the Streights, returned to Toulon, where his ſhips were laid up. The other fleet deſigned to ſuccour North America, was equipped at Rochfort; it conſiſted of five ſhips of war, two frigates, and forty tranſports, having on board three thouſand troops; but Sir Edward Hawke was ſent in April with a fleet to prevent their ſailing. The enemy had juſt weighed anchor, when ſeeing him approach, they ran their ſhips aſhore, and threw their guns, ſtores, lading, and even ballaſt overboard, in order to lighten them and run them further out of his reach. Thus the deſign and the equipment were totally defeated; and it has been ſaid, that the guns, ſtores, and lading, were entirely loſt. A number of ſmall boats were employed to drag the ſhips through the mud, by which they were preſerved; but they did not attempt to venture out to ſea again. In the mean time admiral Boſcawen arrived in America, where the plans of three different operations were to be executed for the ſpeedy reduction of the enemy. The conduct of lord Loudon, who was laſt year commander in chief in America, had not given that ſatisfaction which was expected from him; it was conſidered as inactive; therefore he was called home, and the command devolved on major general

general Abercrombie. A grand equipment was now getting in readineſs at Portſmouth; a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war lay at Spithead, with a ſufficient number of tranſports for an army that was aſſembling at the Iſle of Wight; and boats of a new invention were provided for the more ſafe and expeditious landing of troops. Theſe formidable preparations were intended to alarm the French coaſts more effectually and extenſively than had been hitherto attempted, and convince all Europe that Britain was above the fears of an invaſion, while France might ſeriouſly expect it. There were other ends which the miniſtry had in view. Affairs in Germany grew more intereſting; a new treaty had been concluded with the king of Pruſſia, and it was judged true policy as well as humane to ſupport him. The French had ſhewn their readineſs to cruſh him by joining what was called the Execution Army. It's true they had been defeated, but they were advancing again with a numerous army, which they propoſed to ſtrengthen conſiderably. The expedition would find them employment to guard an extenſive coaſt at home wherever an impreſſion could be made; the damage done to their marine might diſable the enemy without hurting ourſelves, as an alarm was all we intended. Formidable plans were in the mean time laid down in America; theſe were puſhed with vigour, but leſs noiſe. The expedition to France was to ſtrike terror, and was truly formidable. That to Louiſbourg was early diſpatched, ſufficiently ſtrong, well appointed; and the happy choice of commanders ſhews, that it was intended for conqueſt, while the other ſerved to diſtract the enemy and divide his attention between the defence of his own coaſts and the broils of Germany, during which the foundation of our conqueſts was laid in America.

The armament at Spithead was compleated by the latter end of May; it conſiſted of two ſquadrons: The ſtrongeſt was commanded by lord Anſon, who was to watch the enemy's ports and prevent their ſhips from ſailing to America, or from attacking the leſſer ſquadron with the troops; this was under commodore Howe, together with the tranſports, having thirteen thouſand men on board, with a train of artillery under the duke of Marlborough, a name ominous to the French on account of his brave and fortunate anceſtor.

This force the commodore ſafely landed on the 5th of June in Cancalle bay, near St. Malo; the town being found too ſtrong to attempt, they ſet fire to an hundred ſail of ſhipping in a baſon, under the cannon of the caſtle, without ever giving time to fire a gun at them; they likewiſe burned ſe-

veral magazines of naval ſtores, and did other conſiderable damage to the enemy: Having nothing further to propoſe here, they reimbarked without moleſtation, and reconnoitred the coaſt towards the town of Cherbourg; but their proviſions being ſhort, and the ſoldiers ſickly, by being ſo long cooped up in their tranſports, they returned to St. Helen's on the 29th. Though this expedition was ſucceſsful, and did great damage to the enemy, proving that he was vulnerable upon his own coaſt, and alſo anſwered ſo many other intentions both in Germany and America, yet there was no other way to preſerve the harmony ſo lately eſtabliſhed but ſending Britiſh troops to Germany. This was weakening our power at home; and, if the expeditions to France ſhould be continued, which would be much better than letting the ſhips lie idle, it would expoſe us to the laughter of our enemies, being, with a handful of men, only enabled to make little deſultory efforts, and immediately obliged to reimbark, perhaps, with difficulty and hazard; all which, in the end, proved to be the caſe; and yet, from ſo many unforeſeen embarraſſments, there was no preventing theſe evils. In the ſecond expedition the command of the land forces was given to general Bligh; his royal highneſs prince Edward, now duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe: On the 6th of Auguſt they were landed near Cherbourg, where they deſtroyed the mole, pier, baſon, ſluices, floodgates, and many other excellent works for making a complete, convenient, and ſtrong harbour, begun, but not yet finiſhed, at a prodigious expence to the French King: They burnt ſome veſſels which they found in the harbour, and took hoſtages for the payment of contributions which they levied, and put on board the ſhips twenty pieces of braſs cannon and two mortars, which they found in the place. This ordnance was brought to England, and, for a while, they lay in Hyde-park for public view, and were afterwards carried in triumph to the Tower. Many people conſidered this parade, as calculated to keep the people in good humour to ſupport the expence of the war; and it muſt be owned theſe ſights forcibly ſtrike ordinary minds: but it is ſtrange to ſee men of ſenſe intoxicate themſelves in this low, illiberal manner. On the 16th the troops were re-imbarked, perhaps with a deſign of viſiting ſome other part of the enemy's coaſt, but the fleet was driven back to England, where it remained only two days without landing the troops, and then returned to the coaſt of France: A ſecond time the troops were landed near St. Malo; it is aſtoniſhing to think what the general could mean by this diſembark-

tion,

ation, ſince the Duke of Marlborough with a ſuperior force had done all that poſſibly could be done in this neighbourhood, except he meant to take the town; but finding he could not, he imprudently marched into the country, while the fleet, for the better conveniency of receiving the troops, moved into the bay of St. Cas. However, upon having certain intelligence brought him, that the Duke d'Aiguillon, with a ſuperior force, was in full march againſt him, he reſolved to return to the ſhips; yet from ſome unaccountable fatality, though the troops were not far from the ſhore, a great deal of time was unneceſſarily and prodigally thrown away in performing this retreat. Moſt people apprehend, that, with prudence, the troops might have been reimbarked unmoleſted; as it was, the enemy, though at a much greater diſtance, gained the beach as ſoon as the Engliſh: It is true, the major part of our troops were put on board the tranſports before the enemy ventured to appear; but the rear-guard, compoſed of grenadiers, and the firſt regiment of guards, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, under the command of major-general Dury, for Bligh was gone on board the fleet, were at this time on the beach. Dury following the dictates of rage and deſpair, permitted the enemy without hindrance to aſſemble in great numbers in his front, and, when that was done, he attacked them; his efforts were ſeconded by the frigates and bomb-ketches, ranged along the ſhore; the troops fought in a moſt courageous manner, and their bravery was worthy of a better fortune; in a little time their ammunition was expended, and they of courſe gave way before ſuperior numbers; the enemy at firſt gave no quarter, but the ſhips ceaſing to fire clemency was ſhewn, and part of our troops ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the reſt jumped into the ſea and were drowned, among whom was Dury himſelf. Some few were carried to the ſhips in boats; but a much greater number might have been ſaved, had the ſailors emptied their boats into the firſt ſhip they came to, and returned directly to the beach for the reſt; but inſtead of that they inconſiderately preſerved a punctilio, in carrying the troops to the particular tranſport they came out of, without reflecting on the diſtance of ſituation. The fleets returned home, and went to France no more that ſeaſon. Bligh ſuffered greatly in his reputation, and, as ſome think, undeſervedly. The people of England were diſpirited by this affair, far more than they ought to have been, conſidering it was a tranſaction of but little moment; and the whole purpoſe of this expedition was anſwered by covering our deſigns elſe-

where, aſſerting our ſuperiority by ſea and employing the enemy at home.

The expedition to Louiſbourg owed it's ſucceſs to this, as the French were confined to their own coaſts. The fleet under admiral Boſcawen, arrived at Halifax, together with the troops, in number about twelve thouſand, commanded by major-general Amherſt, who was aſſiſted by brigadier-general Wolfe. On the 28th of May this armament departed from Halifax, and on the 2d of June the fleet appeared off Louiſbourg; but there was ſuch a prodigious ſwell all along the ſhore, that they were ſix days off the coaſt before a landing was found practicable. The governor of Louiſbourg in the interim exerted all his ſkill to prevent their landing; he eſtabliſhed a chain of poſts that extended two leagues and a half along the moſt acceſſible parts of the beach; where he threw up intrenchments and erected batteries: The harbour was defended by five ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which he ordered to be ſunk at the mouth of the channel, to prevent the Engliſh fleet getting in; but all theſe precautions were not ſufficient to check the ardour and reſolution of the Engliſh officers, who, as ſoon as the ſwell was abated, loſt not a moment's time in landing. Brigadier-general Wolfe, to his immortal honour, with an intrepidity unparallelled, gained this material point, in ſpite of the enemy's utmoſt efforts; he jumped out of the boat with his ſword drawn, up to the waiſt in water, and reſolutely gained the ſhore; the reſt of the troops followed him, and bore down all that oppoſed them. The enemy fled, and the town of Louiſbourg was inveſted. But the ſiege could not be proſecuted with ſafety until the enemy's ſhips in the harbour were taken, as they could bring their guns to bear upon the Engliſh camp: Therefore general Wolfe immediately ſecured a place called the Light-houſe Battery, and another more material, called the Iſland Battery; when one of the enemy's great ſhips was ſet on fire by the bombs, which communicated to two others, and all three were conſumed. Only two now remained, which the admiral undertook to ſecure, in order to gain poſſeſſion of the harbour; he manned the boats of the ſquadron, and in two diviſions, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour, he ſent them into the harbour in a dark night. Theſe gallant heroes boarded the enemy's ſhips ſword in hand, and one, being a-ground, they ſet her on fire, and towed the other out in triumph. The governor of the town having now no reſource, nor the Engliſh any impediment to hinder their operations, the next day, being July 26, ſurrendered the whole iſland of Cape Breton.

con. The garriſon were made priſoners of war, amounting upon the whole, including ſuch of the inhabitants as bore arms, the irregulars, ſeamen, &c. to 5637. It is well worthy obſervation in this place, that now we behold the real number of that formidable garriſon, which the year before, when other commanders were on that ſtation, it was not deemed prudent to attack. When this conqueſt was atchieved, admiral Boſcawen detached lord Rollo to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John's, which inſtantly ſubmitted to the Britiſh government. When the news of theſe glorious and ineſtimable conqueſts arrived in England, a general joy diffus'd itſelf throughout the whole kingdom: The wiſdom of the miniſters, and the courage of the commanders, every Engliſhman was proud to extol; and addreſſes of congratulation from all parts were preſented to the throne.

The poſſeſſion of Cape Breton was a valuable acquiſition to Great-Britain. It not only diſtreſſed the French in their fiſhery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalſhip from the Engliſh fiſhers on the banks of Newfoundland. When the plan of this conqueſt was originally laid down, during the preceding war, it was demonſtrated, that it would put the Engliſh in ſole poſſeſſion of the fiſhery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions ſterling for the manufactures yearly ſhipped to the plantations, and employ many thouſand families that were otherwiſe unſerviceable to the public, as it would increaſe the ſhipping and mariners, and greatly extend navigation.

Other plans were this year executed in America. Brigadier-general Forbes was to go with about eight thouſand men to attack Fort Du Queſne, near the Ohio, and ſeize the lands which the French had uſurped: And general Abercrombie, the commander in chief, with about ſixteen thouſand men, was to reduce Crown Point, in order to open a road to the frontiers of Canada. The latter of theſe plans did not ſucceed. The vanguard of the army, in it's rout to Ticonderoga, a place which the general intended firſt to reduce before he attempted Crown Point, fell in with a party of the enemy's Indians; buſh-fighting enſued, in which the gallant, the admired, and much-lamented lord Howe was ſlain. Notwithſtanding this little diſaſter the army marched up to Ticonderoga on July 9. Here they found the enemy had felled a great number of trees, and raiſed works to prevent the Britiſh troops approaching in regular order; the enemy had likewiſe thrown up intrenchments, and raiſed a breaſtwork eight feet high to cover the body of the place: However, the

the troops advanced in the beſt manner poſſible; with an undaunted reſolution they mounted the works ſword in hand, unſupported by their artillery, which was not yet brought up, or any thing that could give the leaſt hope of ſucceſs, except what they could derive from their own perſonal proweſs. In this naked manner they for four hours maintained a moſt bloody and unequal conflict. The fire was terrible, as it was both from muſquetry and cannon, and diſcharged in ſuch vollies, it was impoſſible to ſuſtain the weight. The enemy being ſecurely covered by their works, which had been vainly attempted to be ſtormed, and there being no proſpect of any thing but an increaſe of ſlaughter, the general ordered the troops to be drawn off, and to retreat, after the loſs of about two thouſand men; which was accordingly done without any moleſtation from the enemy. More fortunate, however, was an enterprize, which general Abercrombie detached lieutenant, colonel Bradſtreet to undertake. This officer, with three thouſand men, was ordered to attack Fort Fronteniac, ſituated on the river St. Lawrence, which when he approached, ſurrendered at diſcretion, on Auguſt 27, notwithſtanding there were in it ſixty pieces of cannon and ſixteen mortars: He likewiſe took all the enemy's armed veſſels on the Lake. Brigadier Forbes in the mean time marched towards Fort Du Queſne; but when his van-guard, under the command of major Grant, who deſigned to take the place by ſurprize, had approached within a few miles of the fort, he was ſurrounded by a greatly ſuperior part of the enemy's troops and Indians; on which an obſtinate and cruel engagement began, which the Engliſh with their uſual courage maintained near three hours, when being almoſt cut to pieces, and major Grant, with nineteen other officers, and and a number of troops, made priſoners, they retreated and joined the main army. Notwithſtanding the loſs in this ſkirmiſh, brigadier Forbes advanced; but the enemy, reflecting that their works could not withſtand regular approaches, prudently abandoned the fort in time, and retired to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi. Next day, being November 25th, the Engliſh troops, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the fort; the contention for which, with the lands contiguous to it, had kindled up the flames of war. The troops and officers ſtimulated by ſucceſs, and glorying in the miniſter who directed their operations in ſo wiſe and effectual a manner, inſtantly changed the name of the fort, and, with a propriety and compliment, which need not be pointed out, gave it the name of PITTSBURG.

The

The allied army in Germany, being aſſembled again, was put in motion under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; they advanced in the month of January into the country of Bremen where, in a very ſhort time, they diſlodged the enemy out of all the towns there. The duke de Richelieu, finding he could not not ſtop their progreſs, was ſtimulated to commit the moſt unparalleled acts of wanton and unprovoked barbarity; among theſe, was that burning the orphan houſe at Zell, while the people were in it, and other inſtances of raping and oppreſſion: The French miniſtry were diſſatisfied with his conduct, and therefore recalled him, and gave the command of the army to the count de Clermont: This was the third commander which was appointed to the French army in one year; a circumſtance which ſufficiently evinces the unſteadineſs of their councils. Clermont found the troops in a moſt miſerable condition; the winter excurſions, a want of neceſſaries, hard duty, ſevere weather and diſtempers, had reduced them to a wretched remnant; they abandoned the cities of Hanover and Zell and retired towards Hamelen: The town of Hoya upon the Weſer was ſurpriſed by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who had voluntarily entered into the army, in which he afterwards frequently ſignalized himſelf; but this was his firſt exploit. After the taking of Hoya, Clermont retreated to the Rhine, and having paſſed that river, he intrenched his army until he ſhould receive reinforcements from France. The town of Embden, belonging to the king of Pruſſia, ſituated on the river Ems, next the ſea, of which the French had been in poſſeſſion ſome time, was now taken by an Engliſh ſquadron, under commodore Holmes; the French garriſon evacuated the place; it was afterwards a port to land the Britiſh troops at, who were from time to time ſent to reinforce the allies, and perhaps it was taken with that view. Prince Ferdinand followed the count de Clermont to the Rhine; and having paſſed that river, he took his meaſures ſo well, that he found means to attack the enemy's left wing at Crevelt on the 23d of June, which he routed and diſperſed after a ſhort diſpute, in which the French loſt of ſlain and and priſoners, between 4 and 5000 men.

Among the French officers who were ſlain in this action, one deſerves particular notice. He was the young count de Giſors, only ſon of the duke de Belleiſle, the laſt hope of a noble family, and lately married to the heireſs of an illuſtrious houſe. He poſſeſſed many extraordinary accompliſhments as well as uncommon genius. He was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, as he was bringing it up with the moſt heroic cou-

rage,

rage, to the inexpreſſible grief of his aged father, and the univerſal regret of his country.

Clermont having collected the fugitives, retired and took refuge under the cannon of Cologne; where he was a tame ſpectator of the reduction of Duſſeldrop by the allies. However, the conquerors derived no kind of advantage from their victory: It ſeemed to have been only fought for the ſake of diſplaying the genius of the general. The French army, being on their own frontiers, were ſoon reinforced; and another army was aſſembled on the other ſide of the Rhine, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe. Meaſures were then taken in England for reinforcing the allied army, and a corps under the duke of Marlborough was landed at Embden for that purpoſe. At this time the count de Clermont reſigned his command, which was conferred on m. Contades, who threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn; but the prince reſolved to lie quiet, until he ſhould be joined by the Britiſh troops: He flattered himſelf, that the Heſſian troops, commanded by the prince of Iſenbourg, would prevent Soubiſe from entering Heſſe, until he received the reinforcements, when he purpoſed to transfer the ſeat of war into the enemy's country; but the duke de Broglio, who was detached by the prince de Soubiſe, attacked and defeated the prince of Iſenbourg on the 23d of July at Sangerſhauſen, and thereby not only opened a paſſage for the French troops into Weſtphalia, but likewiſe gave them poſſeſſion of the Weſer; advantages which more than counterbalanced thoſe which prince Ferdinand had gained by the action at Crevelt. This prince now began to think of repaſſing the Rhine in order to effect his junction with the duke of Marlborough, which he had reaſon to apprehend the prince of Soubiſe would endeavour to prevent. M. de Chevert, an able French general, had paſſed the Rhine with 12,000 men, in order to beſiege Dueſſeldrop; but finding that impracticable by the late heavy rains, he reſolved to diſlodge baron Imhoff, an Hanoverian officer, who was poſted with 3000 men at Meer, to cover the bridge over the Rhine at Rees, to ſecure a conſiderable magazine there, and preſerve a communication between prince Ferdinand and the duke of Marlborough: Chevert's deſign was to ſeize the magazine, burn the bridge, and cut off the Engliſh troops. With this view he attacked Imhoff on the 5th of Auguſt; this officer having notice of his intentions, had taken his meaſures ſo well, that in half an hour he repulſed the French officer with loſs, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Weſel. This little victory was productive of great advantages to the allies: Imhoff quitted his poſt

poſt at Meer, and marched to meet the duke of Marlborough, with whom he happily effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with many difficulties. Prince Ferdinand without any difficulty repaſſed the Rhine; and drew nearer to the prince of Iſenbourg; and that prince collected all his fugitives, and began to recover from his diſorder; but Gottingen was, in the mean time, reduced by the prince de Soubiſe, who perceiving the Heſſians reaſſemble ſhewed a deſign of attacking them again; upon which prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg, with 13,000 men, to reinforce them and take the command of the whole: However, they were ſtill greatly inferior to Soubiſe's army, which unexpectedly attacked them on the laſt day of September, at Llanwerhagen in Heſſe, and defeated them with the loſs of 1500 men: Their defeat was not total, as they effected a retreat in tolerable order, nor could Soubiſe reap any advantage from the victory, the ſeaſon being too far advanced. Prince Ferdinand had by this time retired into Weſtphalia, into which country Contades followed him, and both armies took up their winter-quarters in it. The fatigues of the campaign occaſioned a fever to break out and rage among the allied troops, which carried off great numbers of the Engliſh in particular, becauſe they were not accuſtomed to the climate and diet; nor indeed enjoyed any benefits which their German friends could deprive them of, tho' they were come to lay down their lives in their defence. This contagion cut off the duke of Marlborough at Munſter; the numbers of private men, which were carried off by the ſame cauſe, were perhaps concealed for reaſons of ſtate; becauſe in a government like ours, where things depend ſo much on popularity, any intelligence which tends to render odious a favourite cauſe, are for the moſt part induſtriouſly hid; yet the death of a great man, eſpecially a commander in chief, cannot be concealed. The command devolved upon lord George Sackville.

During the winter the king of Pruſſia levied in Saxony the moſt heavy contributions; the unfortunate city of Leipſic was puniſhed with military execution. Mecklenburgh was plundered, and it's Duke obliged to fly to Lubeck. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he undertook the ſiege of Schweidnitz, and on the 16th of April obliged it to ſurrender. He was now once more in poſſeſſion of all Sileſia. And it having been found impoſſible to ſeparate Britain from the continent, the engagements entered into by the former adminiſtration were now cemented in a ſtill ſtronger manner. The confederacy againſt the King of Pruſſia being too powerful for him,

he, in all probability, would be cruſhed if not ſupported by England; and if he fell, Hanover would inſtantly fall likewiſe. The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it muſt be regained, even if it ſhould be ſet at the high price of all our conqueſts. According to this reaſoning, which was ſuppoſed to be the ſyſtem of thoſe days, it was the intereſt of Britain to ſupport the King of Pruſſia with vigour. The people were unanimous in their deſires of doing it: The fame of his victories had gained their eſteem. It was at this time that the treaty with Pruſſia was made; a tranſlation of which, as it is remarkable, we ſhall here inſert.

'Whereas a treaty between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties was concluded and ſigned on the 16th day of January 1756, the ſtipulations whereof tended to the preſervation of the general peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular: And whereas ſince that period France has not only invaded the empire with numerous armies, and attacked their aforeſaid Majeſties and their Allies, but has alſo excited other powers to act in like manner: And whereas it is ſo notorious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Pruſſian Majeſty to defend himſelf againſt the number of enemies, who have attacked him on ſo many ſides at once, have occaſioned a very great and burthenſome expence; whilſt, on the other hand, his revenues have been greatly diminiſhed in thoſe parts of his dominions which have been the ſeat of war; and their Majeſties having mutually determined to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and ſecurity, for the recovery of their poſſeſſions, for the protection of their Allies, and the preſervation of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic Majeſty has reſolved, in conſequence of theſe conſiderations, to give an immediate ſuccour, in money, to his Pruſſian Majeſty, as the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual; and their aforeſaid Majeſties have thought proper, that a convention ſhould be made thereupon, in order to declare and aſcertain their reciprocal intentions in this reſpect; for which purpoſe they have appointed and authorized their reſpective miniſters, who after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

'His Majeſty the king of Great Britain engages to cauſe to be paid, in the city of London, to the perſon or perſons who ſhall be authorized for that purpoſe by his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling; which entire ſum ſhall be paid at once, immediately

'after

'after the exchange of the ratifications, upon the requiſition 'of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

'II. His Majeſty the king of Pruſſia engages, on his part, 'to employ the ſaid ſum in keeping up and augmenting his 'forces, which ſhall act in the moſt advantageous manner for 'the common cauſe, and for the end propoſed by their afore-'ſaid Majeſties, of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity.

'III. The high contracting parties moreover engage, viz. 'On the one part, his Britannic Majeſty, both as king and as 'elector; and on the other part, his Pruſſian Majeſty, not to 'conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any 'other convention or agreement whatſoever, with the powers 'who have taken part in the preſent war, but in concert, 'and by mutual conſent, and expreſly comprehending each 'other therein.

'IV. This agreement ſhall be ratified; and the ratification 'thereof ſhall be exchanged on both ſides, within the term of 'ſix weeks, to be reckoned from the date of the ſigning this 'convention, or ſooner, if poſſible.

'In witneſs whereof, the miniſters of his Majeſty the king 'of Great-Britain, and of his Majeſty the king of Pruſſia, by 'virtue of their full powers, ſigned this convention, at 'London, April 11, 1758.'

This convention was renewed annually much in the ſame tenor of expreſſion, and exactly with reſpect to the terms. The parliament approved of the convention when it was laid before them, and on the 20th of April granted the money ſtipulated by it.

Having concluded this treaty, the King of Pruſſia began to act offenſively againſt the Auſtrian territories, but firſt he provided for the ſecurity of his frontiers; he poſted count Dohna with an army to cover Sileſia from any incurſions of the Ruſſians; and his brother prince Henry with another army in Saxony, to prevent the army of the empire, which had been recruited, from entering Brandenburgh or Magdeburgh. At this time count Daun, with all the troops which he could aſſemble, lay intrenched at Koningſgratz in Bohemia. The king of Pruſſia made ſeveral feints, as if he intended to enter Bohemia; and when he had ſufficiently alarmed and diverted the enemy's attention that way, he all at once, by a rapid march, entered Moravia, and proceeded to Olmutz the capital; but general Mariſchal, who happened to be poſted in that province, having intelligence of his march, had juſt time enough to throw himſelf into the town. However, the king laid ſiege

to it on the 27th of May, and the trenches were opened before count Daun heard that the Pruſſians had given him the ſlip. When he received this intelligence, he inſtantly broke up his camp, and haſtened to the relief of the city. He began to impede the Pruſſian operations by attacking their poſts every night, and haraſſing them with continual alarms. The king offered him battle; but Daun knew better how to improve his advantages than hazard them all at once. At this time a large convoy was coming from Sileſia to the king's camp, which Daun having intelligence of detached a conſiderable body of troops to take, and the king of Pruſſia detached another body to preſerve it. The Auſtrians fell in with the convoy, and a bloody conflict enſued: The Pruſſians being greatly inferior were defeated; the center and part of the van were taken, and the rear puſhed back to Sileſia, while only the other part of the van eſcaped to the king's camp. This was a mortifying check to the king of Pruſſia's reſolution and ſpirit: He ſaw himſelf by an unlucky event deprived of the very means of ſubſiſtence, and conſequently obliged to relinquiſh his project, at the very time when the town was expected every day to ſurrender. However he preſerved a good countenance; and on the laſt day of June, which was the laſt day of the ſiege, continued the firing as briſk as ever; but at night he ſuddenly abandoned the place, and gained a march of the Auſtrians before they were apprized of his retreat. He took the route of Bohemia, and arrived with all his baggage, artillery, ſick and wounded, at Koningſgratz. This was one of the moſt ſurpriſing retreats, which has been executed in our days. It was performed in the face of a great army, in high ſpirits, and conducted by a very able general, who could not impede the march of the retreating army, though he attempted to hover on its wings. It is hard to ſay, whether m. Daun ſhewed more ſkill in obliging the king of Pruſſia to raiſe the ſiege without giving him battle; or the king of Pruſſia in raiſing the ſiege, and effecting the ſurpriſing retreat without loſs. The affairs of his Pruſſian majeſty were every day becoming more critical: The invaſion of his dominions by the Ruſſians, under the generals Fermor and Brown, would have obliged him to quit Moravia, if count Daun had not; for at this time they had entered the new Marche of Brandenburg, where they daily committed the moſt horrid ravages and barbarities, and had laid ſiege to Cuſtrin; his preſence in that country became abſolutely neceſſary; accordingly he proſecuted his march with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Cuſtrin on the 20th of Auguſt, after a march of 51 days from the

the midſt of Moravia. Notwithſtanding the great fatigue and hardſhips which his army muſt have ſuffered, he reſolved immediately on giving the Ruſſians battle; and his troops, animated with revenge, on viewing the diſmal ſpectacle which the country all around preſented, ardently wiſhed for an engagement with ſuch cruel enemies. The king joined his troops under count Dohna, and on the 25th of Auguſt gave battle to the Ruſſians near the village of Zorndorff. Theſe barbarians had laid ſiege to Cuſtrin, a little town on the Elbe, almoſt without fortifications, and nothing but a brave garriſon to defend it, who were reduced to the laſt extremity. The exiſtence of the Pruſſian crown depended on the fortune of the day: The deſolation of the country, and the villages on fire all round, were ſuch marks of the enemy's cruelty, as exaſperated the Pruſſians to a pitch of enthuſiaſm. In this rage they began one of the moſt bloody battles that had been fought during this war.

His Majeſty only ſaw the enemy at eight in the morning, and at nine the action began. For the ſpace of two hours the Pruſſian artillery poured ſhot on the Ruſſians like hail from the heavens. They received, firm and undaunted, this furious cannonade, the moſt dreadful that can be imagined. The Muſcovite foot were now attacked with all that impetuoſity for which the Pruſſian infantry are remarkable. They had been provoked at Rochbach; at Zorndorff they were exaſperated: They were in the ſtricteſt ſenſe fighting for their country, and nothing but victory could deliver it from one of the ſevereſt ſcourges which could be inflicted on it. The firſt deſperate ſhock of ſuch aſſailants may rather be imagined than deſcribed; yet here what would have ſtaggered the braveſt veterans, of any civilized nation, had no effect on theſe barbarians; they never once reflected on the danger but fell in ranks, and other regiments preſſed forward to increaſe the carnage. So fearleſs were they, ſo inconſiderate, that when the firſt line had fired away all their ammunition, they obſtinately kept their ground, and ſtood like men infatuated, to be fir'd at by the Pruſſian platoons. It is evident that to conquer ſuch troops was to deſtroy them; the ſlaughter of courſe was very great; but freſh troops continually preſenting themſelves and making ſtill more vigorous reſiſtance, the Pruſſians were tired out, and at length fell back in deſpair; diſorder they had not been accuſtomed to; and nothing farther could be expected after ſuch ſharp ſervice but to keep a firm countenance on the enemy. The Ruſſian officers overlooked this opportunity, to attack in their turn, and general Seidletz ſeized the

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advantage which they had neglected; he brought up the Pruſſion cavalry and charged the Ruſſian foot with an impetuoſity which they could not withſtand; fatigued with what they had already ſuffered, diſpirited by the appearance of horſe, and unſupported by their own cavalry they fell back on a ſudden, broke their ranks, plundered their own baggage, and fired on each other with the utmoſt confuſion; while the wind carried both the duſt and ſmoke in their faces. In this critical moment the Pruſſian infantry rallied, and his majeſty led them to the charge in perſon. The ſlaughter now became more terrible than ever; the Ruſſians were crammed up in a narrow ſpace, while the Pruſſians with regular fires, every ſhot having it's full effect, continued the charge till ſeven o'clock at night: Yet ſtill (which is almoſt incredible) the Ruſſians kept their ground. Night came on, then, and not till then, the Ruſſians retreated under favour of the darkneſs. They loſt, according to their own account, 21,529 men. Of two regiments, which before the battle conſiſted of 4595 effective men, there were only 1475 left. They were purſued into Poland, and thereby prevented from undertaking any thing farther againſt the king of Pruſſia in Brandenburgh. The loſs of the Pruſſians was near 4000 men.

In the mean time count Daun, in conjunction with the army of the empire, now commanded by the prince of Deux Ponts, penetrated into Saxony, and took the fortreſs of Sonneſtein. He aimed at wreſting Saxony entirely out of the hands of the Pruſſians; and for this purpoſe nearly ſurrounded prince Henry of Pruſſia's army, which conſiſted only of 20,000 men, poſted ſo as to cover Dreſden. But the king of Pruſſia, who was informed of his brother's critical ſituation, haſtened to his relief, before Daun, who is remarkably ſlow in concerting his meaſures, could execute his project. The king joined his brother, and Daun fell back as far as Zittau. But Frederic ſoon after ſeparated from his brother, and ſhewed a deſign of cutting off Daun's communication with Bohemia, while the Auſtrian general diſcovered an intention of cutting off the king's in Sileſia. In this caſe a battle ſeemed inevitable; and Daun reſolved to bring it on the firſt advantageous opportunity, leſt the time for action ſhould be loſt, and he obliged to abandon Saxony entirely, thereby giving up the fruits of the campaign. At this time the King of Pruſſia was encamped at Hohkirchen, a village in Luſatia. Daun, in the night of October 14, favoured by a thick fog, ſilently marched to the Pruſſian camp, and at five o'clock in the morning he attacked the Pruſſians in the moſt intrepid manner and with the greateſt regularity. They were

entirely

entirely ſurprized; they run to their arms, ſome half naked: Marſhal Keith mounted his horſe, and putting himſelf at the head of a corps on the right wing, where the heat of the action lay, made a very gallant reſiſtance, which afforded the King of Pruſſia an opportunity to form the left wing, before it ſhould be diſordered by any ſudden efforts of the enemy. Keith maintained a bloody and deſperate conflict three hours amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, confuſion, ſlaughter and deſpair, againſt ſuperior numbers, who were continually ſupported by freſh troops: Three times was the village loſt and won: He rallied the broken regiments, and every time charged with the utmoſt ardor; but he could not prevent a defeat. About nine o' clock he was ſhot thro' the heart; he inſtantly fell on the field, and his body was left to the Auſtrian irregulars, who ſtripped it. At the beginning of the action a cannon ball took off the head of prince Francis of Brunſwick, as he was mounting his horſe. Thus fell two gallant and diſtinguiſhed officers. Prince Maurice of Anhalt too was wounded and taken priſoner. When Keith was ſlain, the right wing was ſoon defeated. The King then gave up all hopes of recovering the ground. He therefore ordered a retreat, which he effected in tolerable order, by the good countenance of his cavalry and the heavy fire of his artillery. He loſt, at leaſt, 7000 men, with all his tents, a great part of his baggage, and ſome cannon; but the death of marſhal Keith was his greateſt misfortune; the reſt he could repair. The loſs of the Auſtrians, according to their own account, amounted to 5000 men. Marſhal Daun, however, did not derive the advantages from this ſtratagem which he expected. It is true he foiled the King of Pruſſia, and that monarch ſuffered in his reputation by it; but this did not come up to his expectations. He hoped to have taken ſome towns in Sileſia: And with this view he previouſly ſent detachments into that country, one of which had laid ſiege to Neiſs, and another formed a blockade round Coſſel. His aim was now to cover thoſe attempts. The King ſoon recovered his affairs, and drew reinforcements from his brother in Saxony. He, by ſeveral maſterly movements and rapid marches, opened a paſſage into Sileſia, and thus cruſhed in a moment all Daun's boaſted advantages of the battle of Hohkirchen. General Laudon was detached after him; but the king continued his march: He relieved Neiſs and Coſſel. When Daun found he could not hinder the king from entering Sileſia, he bent his thoughts towards Saxony: He reſolved to take Dreſden, and approached the ſuburbs with an army of 60,000 men. The garriſon, commanded by count

Schmettau,

Schmettau, amounted to about 12,000. The city being but poorly fortified, the governor, was determined to hold the place to the laſt extremity, and conſidering that if the enemy gained poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs they might eaſily command the city, he reſolved to ſet fire to them; which was done in the morning of the 10th of November, and about 250 houſes were conſumed, the inhabitants of which nearly loſt their all, and ſome their lives. This fire, which in part laid waſte the capital of Saxony, rendered marſhal Daun's project of a ſurprize impracticable, and regular approaches demanded more time than he could now ſpare. The king of Pruſſia was in full march to relieve Dreſden, where he arrived on the 20th of November, which obliged marſhal Daun to retire into Bohemia, and there take up his winter-quarters. The army of the empire had entered another part of Saxony, and formed ſome attempts on Torgau and Leipſic; but they were fruſtrated about the ſame time, and the aſſailants obliged to retire. In the mean time the Swedes, who had been drawn into the confederacy againſt the king of Pruſſia by the influence of the Ruſſians, had acted but a trifling part. Their army made ſome ineffectual efforts to gain Pomerania; for a while they were obliged to abandon all and retire. Not the leaſt ſpark now appeared of that military genius, for which the Swedes had been formerly renowned. Thus did the king of Pruſſia, by his conſummate ſkill and vigilance, baffle all the efforts of his numerous enemies, and obliged them to ſit down at the end of the campaign with the loſs of many thouſand men, and without having gained one inch of ground. It will amaze poſterity, to think, that this prince, with only the aſſiſtance of a ſubſidy which he drew from England, thus bravely withſtood ſo many armies, and fruſtrated the deſigns of ſuch a powerful confederacy.

We ſhall cloſe the account of this year's tranſactions with obſerving, that the Dutch having for ſome time carried on an illicit trade for the French, under colour of their own neutrality, ſeveral of their ſhips were this year taken by the Engliſh cruizers and privateers; upon which they had recourſe to falſe bills of lading, and other arts, to prevent future diſcoveries; but their ſhips were ſtill taken, and after proper examination, condemned in great numbers in America and ſome in Europe. The Dutch thus, in a great meaſure, deprived of the advantages they hoped to derive from this ſly and illegal method of carrying on the French trade, raiſed loud clamours all over Holland againſt the rigour of the Engliſh miniſtry, who warmly expoſtulated with the Dutch deputies on the ſubject.

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The Hollanders finding that the court of Great Britain was not to be intimidated; that no remonſtrances could regain their contraband commodities; that there was a ſpirit in the principal ſervant of the crown, which they perceived would be dangereus to provoke too far; and that the power of Great Britain, under his direction, was become ſo reſpectable, they could have no hopes of intimidating it, at length gave up the point, and ſat down with their loſſes; and tho' they afterwards continued to carry for the French, they were obliged to uſe more caution.

On the 23d of November the Britiſh parliament met. As no change of meaſures ſeemed likely to happen, the fate of the campaign not having diſpoſed any of the powers at war to pacific ſentiments, it was apparent, that the only way to procure a laſting peace was to continue the war with the ſame vigour; upon which the commons, with the greateſt chearfulneſs and unanimity, voted the ſupplies, which amounted to 12,761,310l. It is an illuſtrious and everlaſting monument to the miniſter's honour, that this ſum, which exceeded any that had ever been granted in that houſe before, was given with pleaſure and harmony: Such was the unparalleled confidence of the repreſentatives, and of the whole people, in a miniſtry whoſe integrity and zeal for their country's welfare they did not doubt; and of whoſe ſpirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already ſeen ſuch examples, that they could not but rely on their known honeſty and watchfulneſs to extend the Britiſh power and intereſt. This was not the conduct of faction, but that of the whole people, who were rouzed by ſuch intrepidity and vigilance to revenge their wrongs on a perfidious enemy.

(1759.)

As the enemy's power in America had received a conſiderable blow by the reduction of Louiſbourg, great expectations were formed for a continuance of the war in that quarter. An expedition was planned againſt the capital of Canada, and the command of the land forces was given to an Engliſhman, whoſe genius was modelled by nature for ardour and enterprize; whoſe intrepid and active ſpirit promiſed every poſſible advantage to the public. The late ſucceſs in America had been in a great meaſure owing to well-timing the operations, in making early attempts on the enemy before they could poſſibly receive any aſſiſtance from Europe. The ſame ſteps were again purſued. In the month of February a fleet was diſpatched from England, commanded by the admirals

Saunders and Holmes. It was concerted, that while this fleet, with a number of troops on board, commanded by general Wolfe, ſhould proceed up the river St. Laurence, general Amherſt, with another conſiderable body, ſhould proceed over land in America, and join general Wolfe, in order to attack Quebec, the capital of Canada; and that while theſe operations were performing, a third body of troops, commanded by the generals Prideaux and Johnſon, ſhould advance by Niagara to Montreal, the ſecond principal place in Canada.

While theſe extenſive deſigns were in agitation, commodore Keppel reduced Goree, a ſtrong fortreſs that was a check upon our late acquiſition of Senegal. Other plans were in readineſs for attacking the French iſlands. Ten ſhips of the line were ſent under the command of commodore Moore, and ſix regiments of infantry, under the direction of general Hopſon, to attack Martinico, the conqueſt of which had been repreſented here as extremely impracticable. But when the ſhips appeared before the iſland, which was in the month of January, and had landed the troops upon it, the forts were found to be much ſtronger than had been ſuppoſed; at which time a difference aroſe between the two commanders concerning the conveyance of the cannon; upon which the troops were reimbarked. It was then judged proper to ſail away for Guadaloupe, in hopes of better fortune. On the 23d of January they appeared before Baſſe-terre, which was cannonaded and bombarded by the fleet, till it was in many places ſet on fire: The flames continuing to conſume the town all that and the following day, the inhabitants and troops at length quitted it, and fled into the mountainous part of the country; the Engliſh troops were then landed; but the climate being extreamly unhealthy, great numbers were carried off by ſickneſs and fevers; among whom was general Hopſon. The command devolved upon general Barrington; who having taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral places, embarked the troops, and ſailed round the iſland to other parts, where he reduced all the principal towns; and on the firſt day of May obliged the two iſlands, which together are called Guadaloupe, to ſurrender. This valuable conqueſt was but juſt made, when the French ſquadron appeared for it's relief; but the commander finding he was too late, ſailed away without attempting any thing, tho' had he come but a day ſooner he had probably ſaved the iſlands. Before the end of the month the iſland of Marigalante ſurrendered. The news of ſuch a ſeries of ſucceſſes, ſo advantageous to England, and deſtructive of the power of the enemy,

enemy, were received with raptures of joy; and every inſtance of gratitude to the miniſter.

In Aſia, the Engliſh were as ſucceſsful as their warmeſt friends could wiſh. Conſidering the enemy's ſuperiority, it was impoſſible to prevent Lally's laying ſiege to Madraſs; for which we left him laſt year making preparations. The French army advanced to the place, but one of their regiments was roughly handled by colonel Draper, who ſallied out of the town to impede their approach: He fought bravely, but the enemy's freſh reinforcements at length obliged him to retire. The garriſon of Madraſs was at this time commanded by colonel Lawrence, and the town by governor Pigott, who both provided every thing in their power to defend the place to the laſt extremity. On the 6th of January 1759, Lally opened the trenches againſt it. He maintained a heavy fire for ſome time, and advanced very near the glacis; he poured his bombs into the town in order to ſet fire to the houſes, and intimidate the inhabitants, but the vigilance and bravery of the Engliſh officers diſappointed his expectations; and the fire of the garriſon was ſo warm as to oblige him to abandom ſome of his batteries. In the mean time major Caillaud, with a few Europeans and a body of the country forces, hovered on the ſkirts of Lally's army, and greatly embarraſſed him, as well as retarded the operations of the ſiege: He cut off Lally's ſupplies, repulſed ſeveral of his detachments, and kept him in continual alarm. At length Lally was ſo provoked by this flying camp, which he ſaid was like the flies, no ſooner beat off from one part than they come on another, that he reſolved to ſend out ſuch a large force as would cruſh them effectually: But he was diſappointed; for the Engliſh made ſo brave a ſtand, that his troops gained no material advantage. Chagrined by this event; by the obſtinate defence and the ſuperior fire of the garriſon, which obliged him gradually to decreaſe his own; by the villainous arts of the commiſſaries and contractors, who had engaged to ſupply his army; he, in the wild tranſports of rage and deſpair, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege and reſign his command of the army. This was on the 14th of February, when he wrote a letter to m. de Leyrit, governor of Pondicherry, containing his reſolutions: But his meſſenger who was carrying it fell into the hands of major Caillaud.

This letter is indeed curious, for it is truly picturesque of the chagrin and mortification of the writer; therefore we ſhall inſert it.

From the camp before Madraſs, the 14th of February, 1759.

'A GOOD blow might be ſtruck here: There is a ſhip in 'the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of 'Madraſs, which it is ſaid will remain there till the 20th. The 'Expedition is juſt arrived; but m. Gorlin is not a man to 'attack her, for ſhe has made him run away once before. The 'Briſtol, on the other hand, did but juſt make her appearance 'before St. Thomas; and on the vague report of thirteen 'ſhips coming from Porto Novo, ſhe took fright, and after 'landing the proviſions with which ſhe was laden, ſhe would 'not ſtay long enough even to take on board twelve of her 'own guns, which ſhe had lent us for the ſiege.

'If I was the judge of the point of honour of the compa-'ny's officers, I would break him like glaſs, as well as ſome 'others of them.

'The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforeſaid Briſtol, 'with her 12 guns reſtored to her, would be ſufficient to make 'themſelves maſters of the Engliſh ſhip, if they could manage 'ſo as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre 'and Tremillier are ſaid to be good men; and were they em-'ployed only to tranſport 200 wounded men, that we have 'here, this ſervice would be of importance.

'We remain ſtill in the ſame poſition: The breach made 'theſe fifteen days; all the time within fifteen toiſes of the 'place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

'I reckon we ſhall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour 'to learn ſome other trade, for this of war requires too much 'patience.

'Of 1500 Cipayes which attended our army, I reckon near '800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with 'ſugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they 'are all employed for the ſame purpoſe, from the firſt day we 'came here.

'I am taking my meaſures from this day, to ſet fire to the 'Black-town, and to blow up the powder mills.

'You will never imagine, that fifty French deſerters, and 'one hundred Swiſs, are actually ſtopping the progreſs of 7000 'men of the king's and company's troops, which are ſtill here 'exiſting, notwithſtanding the exaggerated accounts that every 'one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the ſlaugh-'ter that has been made of them; and you will be ſtill more 'ſurprized, if I tell you, that were it not for the two com-'bats and four battles we ſuſtained, and for the batteries

'which

'which failed, or, to ſpeak more properly, which were unſkilfully made, we ſhould not have loſt fifty men, from the commencement of the ſiege to this day.

'I have wrote to m. de Larche, that if he perſiſts in not coming here, let who will raiſe money upon the Paleagers for me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a month ago I would) meddling, directly or indirectly, with any thing whatever, that may have relation to your adminiſtration, whether civil or military: For I had rather go and command the Caffres of Madagaſcar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impoſſible but the fire of the Engliſh muſt deſtroy, ſooner or later, even tho' that from heaven ſhould not.

'I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

'LALLY.

'P.S. I think it neceſſary to apprize you, that as m. de Soupire has refuſed to take upon him the command of this army, which I have offered to him, and which he is impowered to accept, by having received from the court a duplicate of my commiſſion, you muſt of neceſſity, together with the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake only to bring it back, either to Arcotte or Sadraſte. Send therefore your orders, or come yourſelves to command it; for I ſhall quit it upon my arrival there.'

Major Caillaud ſent this curious intelligence into Madraſs, and thereupon came nearer in order to harraſs the enemy. Lally had not time to burn the Black-town, as he intended, for a man of war and a company's ſhip arriving in the road on the 16th with ſuccours, he precipitately retreated in the utmoſt haſte and left his artillery behind him: Thus was Madraſs ſaved after a ſiege of nine weeks. A part of the garriſon, commanded by major Brereton, ſallied out after him, but were for ſome time too weak to undertake any thing of importance. At length, in the month of September, they reſolved to attack him in his ſtrong camp at Wandewaſh, but they met with a ſevere repulſe, and were obliged to retire in confuſion. Captain Maitland, who commanded an expedition to Bombay, had better ſucceſs. He diſperſed the French troops, took the town of Surat by aſſault, and obliged the caſtle to ſurrender. In the mean time admiral Pococke and m. d'Ache diſputed the ſuperiority of the ſea. On the 10th of September they came to an engagement off Pondicherry, which raged with great fury for the ſpace of two hours, when d'Ache finding himſelf unable

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to ſuſtain Pococke's heavy and deſtructive fire, fled in the beſt manner he could. The Engliſh fleet however were too much damaged to purſue; but ſoon after, being refitted, they went again in queſt of the French, who deſcrying their approach off Pondicherry, ſlipped out to ſea, and avoided another engagement.

The Miniſtry apprehenſive that the enemy's additional force in the Eaſt Indies might ſeize ſome of the Engliſh ſettlements, diſpatched a fleet from Europe, as ſoon as they heard of Lally's deſign to attack Madraſs: It was commanded by commodore Corniſh, who about this time joined admiral Pococke, and gave ſuch a ſuperiority to the Britiſh power in the eaſt, as in a little time after totally deſtroyed the French force on the coaſt of Coromandel. Commodore Corniſh brought with him a reinforcement of troops, commanded by colonel Coote, who took the command of the whole army, and prepared to make head againſt Lally. He reduced Wandewaſh, and ſome other places of leſs importance, before the end of the year.

The great extenſion of the Britiſh trade in this quarter of the globe, excited the jealouſy and envy of the Dutch, who ſecretly formed a ſcheme for extirpating the Engliſh out of Bengal. They tampered with the nabob Jaffier Ali-Cawn, and he connived at their intentions. Their firſt aim was to engroſs the whole ſalt-petre trade; a part of which they enjoyed by their factory at Chinſurra, where they had a ſtrong fort on the river Bengal, higher up than Calcutta. The governor of Batavia, having charged himſelf with the execution of this villainous deſign, choſe the opportunity while the Britiſh ſquadron were abſent; and having equipped ſeven ſhips, and put on board them 12,000 troops, on pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garriſons in Bengal, they ſailed for the river of Bengal, and in October three of them arrived there. Col. Clive, who reſided at Calcutta, having notice of their deſign, ſent word to the Dutch commodore, that he could not allow them to land their forces and march to Chinſurra; but no ſooner were the reſt of the troops arrived, than the men were landed, and began their march for Chinſurra. The Dutch commodore, by way of retaliating the affront, he pretended to have received, in being denied a paſſage to Chinſurra, took ſeveral Engliſh veſſels on the river; and one of the Indiamen coming down at that time, he told the captain, that if he preſumed to paſs he would ſink him; upon which the veſſel returned to Calcutta, where colonel Clive ordered three Indiamen that were there to go down and fight the Dutch; and they obeyed this order with ſo much vivacity and

courage,

courage, that they compelled three of the Dutch ſhips with the commodore to ſurrender; two ran away, and they drove the laſt aſhore. In the mean time the Dutch troops were not more fortunate than their ſhips: Colonel Clive detached colonel Forde, with five hundred men, to oppoſe their progreſs; on the 25th of November he met with them and gave them battle with great reſolution; in a ſhort time they gave way, and were totally defeated: During this action, the nabob, with a conſiderable army looking on, obſerved a ſuſpicious neutrality, and in all probability would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious; but no ſooner had the Engliſh gained the victory, than he declared for them. The Dutch finding their whole ſcheme defeated, began to think of accommodating matters; a treaty was concluded, by which the ſhips were reſtored; and the priſoners were releaſed as ſoon as the Dutch factory at Chinſurra had given ſecurity to indemnify the Engliſh for the damage they had ſuſtained. This reminds us of their practices at Amboyna; but colonel Clive had diſcernment and ſpirit to cruſh the attempt in it's infancy.

The fleet under admiral Saunders arrived at Halifax, where having taken on board the troops, in number about eight thouſand, deſtined for the expedition, it ſailed up the river St. Lawrence, and in the month of June general Wolfe landed on the iſle of Orleans (not ſo high up as Quebec) of which he took poſſeſſion, and alſo of the point of the continent, which lay oppoſite, called Point Levi. Quebec at this time was tolerably well fortified, the garriſon reinforced, and the town covered by an army of ten thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Montcalm. As the defence of Quebec was thus ſo well provided for, the general could ſcarce hope to reduce it, therefore he reſolved to attack ſome intrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at Montmorenci. For this purpoſe the grenadiers were landed on the beach with orders to form upon it, and wait till they were reinforced; but ſuch was their ardour, that as ſoon as they were landed they, unſupported, ruſhed on the enemy, who being greatly ſuperior, they were repulſed and thrown into diſorder. In this attack captain Otcherlony and lieutenant Peyton (both of general Monckton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the enemy's breaſt-work.----The former mortally, being ſhot thro' the body; the latter was wounded only in his knee.----Two ſavges puſhed down upon them with the utmoſt precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The firſt ſeized on captain Otcherlony, when mr. Peyton, who lay reclining

clining on his fuſee, diſcharged it, and the ſavage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey. The other ſavage advanced with much eagerneſs to Mr. Peyton, who had no more time than to diſengage his bayonet, and conceal it's diſpoſition. With one arm he warded off the purpoſed blow, and with the other ſtabb'd him to the heart: Nevertheleſs the ſavage, tho' fallen, renewed his attempts, inſomuch that mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blow, and ſtab him thro' and thro' the body. A ſtraggling grenadier, who had happily eſcaped the ſlaughter of his companions, ſtumbled upon captain Otcherlony, and readily offered him his ſervice. The captain, with the ſpirit and bravery of a Briton, replied, 'Friend, I thank you!---but with reſpect to me, the muſket 'or ſcalping knife, will be only a more ſpeedy deliverance 'from pain. I have but a few minutes to live. Go---make 'haſte---and tender your ſervice, where there is a poſſibility 'it may be uſeful.' At the ſame time he pointed to mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the ſand. The grenadier took mr. Peyton on his back, and conveyed him to the boat thro' a ſevere fire, in which mr. Peyton was wounded in the back, and his deliverer near the ſhoulder.

The loſs in this ſkirmiſh was conſiderable; but to prevent it's being greater, the General ordered a retreat. This was a very diſcouraging circumſtance. There appeared on every ſide ſuch a number of difficulties to be ſurmounted, that the General's only hope ſeemed to depend on the ſucceſs of this attempt. The failure made a great impreſſion on his mind, and threw him into a dangerous illneſs; his ſpirit was too great not to be affected with any misfortune that might expoſe him to reproach or cenſure. In the tranſports of his chagrin and affliction he was heard to ſay, *He would never return unleſs he was victorious.* The hope, however, of ſtill being able, thro' ſome reſource or other, to execute his orders, revived his ſpirits, and he began to recover; upon which he tranſmitted an account of his operations to England. Then he ordered ſome of the ſhips up the river, being determined to make an effort on that ſide the town: Admiral Holmes, who commanded theſe ſhips, on board of which was General Wolfe with about 5000 troops, was to go further up than the place he intended to land at, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way; and ſo far it anſwered, that Montcalm ſent 1500 men to watch this fleet; while admiral Saunders made a feint, as if he intended to attack the enemy's entrenchments below the town. On the 13th of September, at one o'clock in the morning, the troops were put into the

ſtream

ſtream to the place of landing; where with admirable courage, but great difficulty, they landed, and aſcended, after the example of the General, the woody precipices; and at length gained the ſummit, which is called the Heights of Abraham. Here they were formed, and drawn up in regular order before day light. This ſituation commanded the town. Montcalm now ſaw that he muſt hazard a battle: He inſtantly put his troops in motion, and advanced up to the Engliſh. General Wolfe placed himſelf in the front line of the center, in order to animate the troops by his example. The right and left wings were commanded by the Generals Monckton, Murray, and Townſhend. He ordered his men to reſerve their fire till the enemy were very cloſe, which being done, it was diſcharged, and made terrible havock among them: The bayonet was immediately made uſe of, which greatly increaſed the ſlaughter. The Engliſh had only fired twice, when the enemy began to fall into diſorder and give ground. At this critical minute general Wolfe was killed by a ſhot in the breaſt. The French general was ſlain likewiſe, upon which the enemy fell into utter confuſion, and abandoned the field of battle.

The circumſtances attending general Wolfe's death are too affecting to be paſſed over. He firſt received a wound in the wriſt; but that he might not diſcourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance: Soon after he received another ball in his belly; this alſo he diſſembled, and exerted himſelf as before, till he received a third in his breaſt, under which he at laſt ſunk.------ Crowned with conqueſt, he ſmiled in death.-----His principal care was, that he ſhould not be ſeen to fall. *Support me*, ſaid he to ſuch as were near him, *let not my brave ſoldiers ſee me drop:----the day is ours:---oh! keep it.* He was immediately carried behind the ranks. As he lay ſtruggling with the anguiſh and weakneſs of three grievous wounds, he was only ſolicitous about the certainty of the victory. He begged one who attended him to ſupport him to view the field; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confuſed his ſight, he deſired an officer who was by him to give him an account of what he ſaw. The officer anſwered, That the enemy were broken: He repeated his queſtion a few minutes after with much anxiety, when he was told, that the enemy were totally routed, and that they fled in all parts, *Then I am ſatisfied*, ſaid he, and immediately expired. His death was univerſally lamented by his country, and envied by all who had a true reliſh for military glory. Unindebted to family or connections, unſupported by intrigue or faction, he had ac-

compliſhed the whole buſineſs of life, at a time when others are only beginning to appear in it; and at thirty-five, without feeling the weakneſs of age or the viciſſitude of fortune, having ſatisfied his honeſt ambition, having compleated his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory, covered with laurels, green in age, but ripe in glory.

The Engliſh loſt in this battle about 500 men, and the French about 1500; but the death of General Wolfe was to the Engliſh the greateſt misfortune: It was an event particularly grievous to his country, tho' to himſelf the happieſt that can be imagined. Officers may be formed by experience; but a genius in war, a ſoul like his, can never be repaired. Five days after the battle the city of Quebec ſurrendered to general Townſhend, on whom the command had devolved. It is particularly worthy obſervation, that the conqueſt of Canada was owing to the ſingular ardour and intrepidity of general Wolfe: It was he who formed that deſperate reſolution of landing, and climbing the Heights of Abraham. This brought on the battle; and thus was Quebec conquered. Had a commander of an ordinary capacity been employed in this enterprize he would have been ſtaggered by the difficulties, diſcouraged by the repulſe at Montmorenci, and judged the landing impracticable. Thus would the great ſcheme have been defeated, a whole ſeaſon loſt, and the national treaſure thrown away in equipping a fruitleſs expedition. What praiſes, what honours, what rewards therefore are due to him, who prevented all this, and added to the Britiſh crown one of the brighteſt gems that ever adorned it?

In the mean time general Amherſt advanced to Crown Point, which as well as Ticonderoga the enemy abandoned on his approach: Then he prepared to croſs the lake Champlain, and diſlodge a numerous body of French troops, which lay intrenched at the bottom of the lake, in order to open the communication with general Wolfe; but by the time he had made his preparations the ſtormy ſeaſon was ſet in; and when he embarked, hoping to effect his deſigns, the weather was ſo cold and tempeſtuous, he was obliged to turn back, and poſtpone the remainder of his operations till the next campaign. Thus the great end of aſſiſting general Wolfe was not accompliſhed; and that General was, as we have ſeen, left to the exertion of his ſingle ſtrength. The third part of the plan was more ſucceſsful. General Prideaux advanced to fort Niagara, which by it's excellent ſituation commands the extenſive territory

territory inhabited by the Iroquois: He laid ſiege to it; but while the operations were carrying on, he was killed before the place by the burſting of a cohorn; the command now devolved upon general Johnſon. The French, well knowing the importance of the fort, notwithſtanding their diſtreſſed and diſtracted condition, collected a body of troops and Indians, and advanced to it's relief; but general Johnſon, who is extremely well acquainted with all the Indian methods of making war, and taking advanges of the ground, buſhes, &c. gave them a warm reception, and in leſs than an hour totally defeated them: Then he ſummoned the fort, and obliged the garriſon, amounting to 600 men, to ſurrender priſoners of war that evening. Such was the ſecond campaign in America, by which the Engliſh gained poſſeſſion of Quebec, the capital of Canada, drove the French from their ſtrong holds at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and took fort Niagara, which opened the road to Montreal, the ſecond principal place in Canada, and the only one which the French now held in that extenſive province.

The inclinations of the powers at war were not the leaſt altered at the beginning of this year from what they were at the cloſe of the laſt. However, the plan of operations in Germany was ſomething different; laſt year the king of Pruſſia and prince Ferdinand acted independently; this year they reſolved to act in concert: It was deſigned firſt to deſtroy the Ruſſian magazines in Poland, while prince Ferdinand ſhould drive the French towards the Rhine, and getting between them and the army of the empire, cut off their communication: Prince Henry was to ruſh out of Saxony and cut off the communication between the Imperialiſts and Auſtrians; while count Daun and the king of Pruſſia were left ſingly to oppoſe each other. The firſt part of this plan was executed with ſucceſs: So early as the month of February, the Pruſſian general Woberſnow, deſtroyed as many magazines in Poland, as would have ſubſiſted fifty thouſand men for three months. In the month of April, prince Henry executed his part with equal celerity and good fortune; the king of Pruſſia making a motion, which drew the Auſtrians towards Sileſia, the prince entered Bohemia, and turned the army of the empire into Voigtland, where he ſkirmiſhed with them to advantage, and raiſed contributions in the country; he diſabled the circle of Franconia from giving them any aſſiſtance; but as he found prince Ferdinand had not ſucceeded, and the French army could ſuccour them, he returned to his old ſituation in Saxony, Prince Ferdinand purpoſing to drive the French troops from

Francfort, which they had illegally ſeized, and from which they derived no ſmall advantage; as it ſecured to them the courſe of the rivers Maeſe and Rhine, by which they could receive ſupplies and refreſhments, he, in the month of March, put himſelf at the head of a corps of the allies, and advanced to execute this deſign; but the duke de Broglio, with a conſiderable detachment of the French troops, poſted himſelf in a very ſtrong and judicious manner at Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau; which poſt, prince Ferdinand found it neceſſary to force, before he could penetrate to Francfort. Lord George Sackville, who commanded the Britiſh forces, proteſted againſt ſuch an attack as raſh and imprudent: However, prince Ferdinand ordered the prince of Iſenbourg to attack the enemy's intrenchments, which he did with great intrepidity, and was repulſed; twice more he returned to the charge, and in the latter fell, with near two thouſand of his countrymen. Prince Ferdinand, finding it impoſſible to force this poſt, withdrew, while the French with prodigious ſuperiority obliged him to retreat, and act on the defenſive until the month of Auguſt; when having followed him to the town of Minden on the Weſer. M. Contades, who was ſtill the French commander, reſolved to give him battle; the vicinity of the two armies, for ſeveral days, had made prince Ferdinand apprehenſive of ſuch a ſtep; but he did not expect it on the day it happened: He was conſcious, that they intended to deprive him of the courſe of the Weſer; and that was one of the principal advantages they expected to derive from an action: Therefore general Wagenheim, with a conſiderable corps, was intrenched at Dodenhauſen, on the Banks of the Weſer, while the reſt of the army was encamped at a ſmall diſtance near the village of Hille.

On the laſt day of July Contades gave his orders for fighting; he directed the duke de Broglio to march in the dead of the following night and early in the morning to force Wagenheim, who it was apprehended was not ſtrong, and place himſelf between the allied army and the Weſer, while Contades ſhould, on a ſudden, ſurprize the prince in front. Broglio, to his great aſtoniſhment, found Wagenheim's troops drawn up in excellent order, intrenched and defended by a numerous artillery; this diſcovery put a ſtop to his operations. About the ſame time Contades fired upon Hille, which alarmed the Allies, who forthwith put themſelves in order, expecting the French were come to give them battle; but finding them not ſo near as they had apprehended, they advanced to the plain of Minden, and there ſaw the enemy. Broglio attacked

Wagenheim

Wagenheim with great vivacity; but the artillery was ſo admirably ſerved againſt him, that his troops recoiled, and he found it neceſſary to retire. Contades directed his cavalry to charge the allied infantry, whom he perceived to be advancing: Here the brunt of the action fell: Six regiments of Engliſh infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards ſuſtained the efforts of the whole French centre, conſiſting of horſe, the flower of their cavalry and the ſtrength of their army, with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, as perhaps never was equalled. During this conflict, orders were ſent to the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe on the right, commanded by lord George Sackville, divided from the infantry by a wood, to come up and ſuſtain the infantry; but that commander pretending theſe orders not to be ſufficiently explicit and conſiſtent, heſitated in the execution, by which the precious moment was loſt; the Britiſh infantry having defeated the French cavalry, and there was no horſe at hand effectually to finiſh the work. Some pretend, that had theſe orders been immediately obeyed, his lordſhip could not have come up time enough to have had any ſhare in the action. There was a ſtrange confuſion this day; the artillery had no orders till very late, and the engineers were galloping about the field in queſt of orders, when aid du camps ought to have ſpared them the neceſſity of quitting their ſtations: At length, lord George Sackville directed them to proceed to the front, where they were of the utmoſt ſervice towards obtaining the victory. Contades, finding that his cavalry could not reſiſt the Britiſh infantry, and that theſe troops broke every corps before them, ordered a retreat, which the duke de Broglio covered in a very excellent manner. The loſs of the French amounted to near ſeven thouſand men, ſlain and priſoners; that of the the allies exceeded two thouſand five hundred. The vanquiſhed retreated acroſs the Weſer, and for want of ſubſiſtence fled precipitately towards Caſſel: The allies took ſeveral towns in the purſuit, and laid ſiege to Munſter; but the French by relieving it, ſet a bound to the progreſs of their arms, who left the enemy at the concluſion of the campaign, juſt where they had found them at the beginning.

Notwithſtanding the deſtruction of the Ruſſian magazines, early in the year, that power nevertheleſs put it's army in motion about the ſame time as uſual; and theſe troops, to the number of 70,000 men, commanded by count Soltikoff, proſecuted their march to Sileſia. Count Dohna, who commanded the Pruſſian army in thoſe parts, finding them too numerous for him to attack with any proſpect of ſucceſs, contented himſelf

ſelf with watching their motions and harraſſing them in their march: Tho' this conduct was extremely prudent and juſtifiable, yet the king of Pruſſia's affairs requiring vigorous meaſures he diſapproved of it; upon which count Dohna reſign'd, and general Wedel was ordered to take the command of the army, and at all events to fight the Ruſſians. Accordingly on the 23d of July, he with 30,000 men attacked their advantageous poſt at Zullichau, near Croſſen; and after maintaining the conflict with great reſolution, tho' under many difficulties, for ſeveral hours, he retired with the loſs of at leaſt 8000 men; in conſequence of which the Ruſſians gained poſſeſſion of Croſſen and Francfort upon the Oder. The king of Pruſſia exaſperated by this defeat reſolved to give them battle himſelf, and immediately ſeparated from his army a conſiderable corps, with which he began his march to join the troops of Wedel, leaving prince Henry with the remainder to obſerve count Daun; but this able General knowing the king of Pruſſia's deſign detached a body of 12000 horſe under general Lauden to the aſſiſtance of the Ruſſians, and by extreme good fortune this junction was effected: However, the king of Pruſſia having aſſembled an army of 50,000 men, determined to give them battle: And accordingly on the 12th of Auguſt, early in the morning, he found the enemy in an intrenched camp at Cunnerſdorff, defended by an incredible number of cannon; he attacked the left wing with great bravery, and after a bloody diſpute of ſix hours he maſtered a defile and ſeveral redoubts, took a great number of cannon, and obliged the enemy to begin a retreat. At this juncture he diſpatched a billet to his queen, couched in the following terms: *Madam, we have beat the Ruſſians from their entrenchments; in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory.* But he was deceiv'd; the Ruſſians were not yet defeated: They had retired to a place called the Jews Burying Ground; but this was an eminence, and the moſt advantageous poſt, which in theſe circumſtances they could have choſen: However he reſolved to drive them ſtill further, tho' this enterprize was of a moſt difficult nature; his Generals perceiving this raſhneſs, unanimouſly repreſented to him the imprudence of attempting to puſh the advantages they had gained any further; the enemy, ſaid they, were ſtill numerous, had a vaſt artillery, the poſt which they occupied was of great ſtrength, his troops had been engaged a long time in the ſevereſt action they ever knew, and one of the hotteſt days they ever felt, were too much fatigued for ſuch a new aſſault, that might even ſtagger freſh troops; they urged that the advantage which he had gained would

would be as deciſive in it's conſequences as that at Zorndorff; that the enemy would ſoon be obliged to retire into Poland, and he would be at liberty to act in other quarters where his preſence was more neceſſary. All theſe excellent arguments weighed as nothing; he obſtinately adhered to his reſolution. Thus rejecting every thing that was prudent, and actuated by frenzy, he began a new attack which was beyond his ſtrength. Now putting all to the hazard, his weakened army with ſome little remains of unexhauſted ardor, fought againſt the enemy's impregnable ſituation. Theſe feeble battalions being uncovered with cannon, becauſe they could bring none up, and the enemy having recovered from their conſternation, repulſed them with great ſlaughter; yet ſtill did the king of Pruſſia, with a ſtrange and inhuman perſeverance, order them to return to the charge; when being again routed with great loſs, he in a wild ungovernable paſſion of deſpair and revenge, put the affair to the cavalry, notwithſtanding the horſes as well as the riders had been previouſly ſpent; they made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts, and being entirely broke, the Auſtrian cavalry which had hitherto been inactive, fell amongſt them, threw them into utter confuſion and compleated their deſtruction; the remains of the army, which but lately had been victorious were now ſeized with a panic, and diſperſed in the beſt manner they were able, without any thoughts of preſerving their baggage, cannon, or one ſingle utenſil; life alone was the prevailing conſideration, and night preſerved them from total ruin. The King had two horſes killed under him, and ſeveral balls went thro' his cloaths. There was ſcarce a general, or even an inferior officer in his army that was not either killed or wounded. His loſs was greater in this action than in any he had ever ſeen before; at leaſt 19,000 of his troops were ſlain, a great number were made priſoners, all his baggage, cannon, and every thing he brought into the field fell into the hands of his enemy. When he abandoned this horrible ſcene he diſpatched another billet to the queen, thus expreſſed: *Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archieves be carried to Potſdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy.* It is not difficult to conceive the terror and confuſion this intimation produced at Berlin, in the midſt of their rejoicings occaſioned by the firſt meſſenger. The loſs of the conquerors amounted to about 11 or 12,000 men.

Next day the king of Pruſſia retreated over the Oder, and begun to collect his fugitives; in a little time he recovered from his diſorder, without any obſtruction from the enemy, and drew a freſh train of artillery out of the ſtores at Berlin.

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He ſaw with joy and aſtoniſhment the enemy's forbearance to improve their victory; they, inſtead of overwhelming him with ruin, or advancing towards his capital, contented themſelves with joining count Daun in Luſatia and holding conſultations with that General; in which it is more than probable the Auſtrians were not willing the Ruſſians ſhould take poſſeſſion of Brandenburgh, therefore his ſafety flowed from this jealouſy of the two powers. In the mean time the army of the empire had penetrated into Saxony, and reduced the towns of Hall, Leipſic, Torgau and Dreſden. The king of Pruſſia apprehending the Ruſſians had a deſign on Great Glogau, took poſt in ſuch a manner as to cover that town; while count Daun ſuſpecting that prince Henry of Pruſſia intended to retake Dreſden, made a forced march in order to ſave that capital. The Auſtrians and Ruſſians being thus ſeparated, and the latter baffled in their ſcheme on Great Glogau, and beginning to think of retiring, the king of Pruſſia formed a plan for cutting off count Daun's retreat into Bohemia: He detached general Finck with 20,000 men to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of Maxen behind the Auſtrians; which was no ſooner done, than Daun reconnoitred his ſituation, and reſolved to attack him; for this purpoſe he firſt ſecretly ſurrounded the Pruſſians, and on the 24th of November Finck perceived the enemy's approach on every ſide. In this emergency he began to think of a retreat; for a whole day he made the moſt intrepid efforts to diſengage himſelf, but it was impoſſible, the enemy's numbers had ſecured every avenue. Next morning he ſaw the enemy on every ſide preſenting a wall of bayonets, through which it was madneſs to think of penetrating, conſidering his great loſs on the preceding day; therefore he ſurrendered with the whole army priſoners of war. This was a terrible blow to the Pruſſian power in this preſent critical ſtate; yet while the king of Pruſſia was ſtaggering under it, he felt another: A body of his troops, poſted on the Elbe oppoſite to Mieſſen, was on the 4th of December attacked by the Auſtrians, and between 3 and 4000 of them were killed and made priſoners. While the King of Pruſſia was ſuffering under theſe misfortunes, he received a ſupply from prince Ferdinand, who detached the Hereditary Prince to his aſſiſtance, the king hoping by this means to gain ſome advantage over m. Daun; but this General acted with ſo much caution, that he found it impoſſible, the Hereditary Prince returned to the Allies, who by this time had recommenced the ſiege of Munſter, and reduced it. After theſe tranſactions all the armies went into winter quarters.

The

The Britiſh naval tranſactions were as brilliant and ſucceſsful this year, as the moſt ſanguine wiſh could deſire. Though the French were in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Minorca, yet the Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean plainly evinced it was of little ſervice to them; for notwithſtanding the many pretended benefits ariſing from this poſſeſſion, they could not protect their marine. Admiral Boſcawen who had ſucceeded admiral Oſborn, appeared before Toulon, and though he received ſome damage from two forts which he attempted to deſtroy, yet this ſhewed the ſpirit and bravery of an Engliſh admiral. Having retired to Gibraltar to refit, m. de la Clue, who commanded the French ſquadron in Toulon, ſeized the opportunity of ſailing; he hoped to paſs the Streights mouth unobſerved, and then to join the grand fleet at Breſt, which the French had equipped with a view of invading England; but the vigilant admiral Boſcawen had ſtationed cruizers at ſeveral places to keep a good look-out, and give him timely notice of de la Clue's approach. Accordingly on the 17th of Auguſt ſignal was made of the enemy's being on the Barbary ſhore; upon which the Engliſh ſquadron ſailed in queſt of them, and fell in with 7 ſhips off Cape Lagos, the reſt having ſeparated in the night. Boſcawen run along-ſide the French admiral, and began a furious engagement; but being neceſſitated to change his flag, his antagoniſt in the interim eſcaped to the Portugueſe ſhore: However two ſhips, one of 64 and the other of 74 guns, were taken, which had alſo made to the coaſt; another was bulged and burned, and de la Clue having quitted his ſhip, ſhe was taken by the victors, who finding it impoſſible to get her off, deſtroyed her. This in ſome meaſure violated the neutrality of Portugal; but there was no intention to inſult them.

The French ſpent this ſummer in ſcheming and preparing for an invaſion of the Britiſh dominions: All their ports on the ocean were full of men of war, tranſports, and flat-bottomed boats. They talked of a triple embarkation, one from Dunkirk againſt Scotland, under the direction of m. Thurot, a bold adventurer, who from a captain of a privateer, in which he had greatly annoyed the Engliſh trade, became a commodore in the French king's ſervice. The ſecond from Havre de Grace againſt England, which being the ſhorteſt voyage, was to be attempted by flat-bottomed boats. The third, ſuppoſed to be againſt Ireland, was to be made from Vannes, where the troops lay encamped under the command of the duke d'Aguillon, and were to be conducted by the ſquadron, commanded by m. Conflans at Breſt. Had this deſign been

ſuch as it was repreſented, and had it been put in execution, there is no doubt that it would have cauſed great confuſion. But the excellent meaſures taken by the Britiſh government fruſtrated the projects of the enemy whatever they were. Thurot was blocked up in Dunkirk by a ſquadron commanded by commodore Boys. The brave and vigilant admiral Hawke, with a large fleet, confined Conflans in Breſt; he likewiſe kept a watch upon the deſign at Vannes. Admiral Rodney was diſpatched from England with a proper ſquadron, in order to bombard Havre de Grace, and deſtroy the preparations there, which ſervice he performed with tolerable ſucceſs. However, they continued their preparations with great celerity, and they ſeemed reſolved at all events to hazard the tranſportation of a body of troops from Vannes. Even when winter approached, the ſame reſolution was purſued, perhaps from an expectation that the tempeſtuous weather would compel the Britiſh navy to take refuge in their own harbours, and their fleets might then come out unoppoſed. Their hopes were not ill-grounded: Sir Edward Hawke was by a violent ſtorm obliged to quit his ſtation off Breſt, and returned with his whole fleet to Torbay. The enemy availed themſelves of his abſence; and on the 14th of November put to ſea. The whole nation was alarmed, for now the event of the war depended on the good or ill ſucceſs of this ſtroke. Admiral Hawke loſt not a moment's time; he put to ſea on the ſame day that Conflans did, and judging that the rendezvous of the enemy's fleet would be at Quiberon, he directed his courſe for that bay: After beating againſt an high wind ſome time, he at length ſaw the deſired object in his reach, but his ſituation was extremely dangerous; the rocks, ſands, and ſhoals, round about were innumerable; the Britiſh pilots knew nothing of the place, the wind blew a violent ſtorm, and the waves ran mountains high. Some commanders would have been intimidated in theſe circumſtances, but Hawke conſidered the public ſafety, and was the more animated. He ordered his neareſt ſhips to the enemy to engage, which they did with great intrepidity. Conflans acted with ridiculous irreſolution: He at firſt had two choices, either to fly, or ſtand and fight; for a while he followed the latter, but when it was too late, he fled. Hawke, who was in the Royal George, ordered the fire of that great ſhip to be reſerved for the French admiral, and directed his captain to carry her along-ſide him; but a French ſhip of ſeventy guns generouſly put herſelf between them: Here Hawke was obliged to beſtow his fire, and at one broad-ſide ſunk her to the bottom, with every ſoul on board: Another French

French ſhip ſhared the ſame fate, and a third ſtruck. The enemy now fled on all ſides, and night ſaved them from utter deſtruction. However, two of the Engliſh ſhips, in the eagerneſs of the purſuit, ran upon a ſand, and were loſt. Seven of the French ſhips threw over their guns, and eſcaped up the little river Villiane, and as many more got out to ſea. The night that ſucceeded this action was perhaps the moſt terrible that can be conceived; the wind blew a violent ſtorm all night long, it was both very dark, and a dangerous coaſt ſurrounded them. A continual firing of diſtreſs guns was heard, but nobody knew whether they came from friend or enemy: The badneſs of the coaſt and the darkneſs of the night made the hearers equally unwilling and unable to give any aſſiſtance. In the morning they perceived the French admiral had run aſhore, as well as another ſhip; the firſt the enemy ſet on fire, and the other was burned by the victors. Thus the long-threatened invaſion, which was to repair the French loſſes in every part of the world, was defeated, and a finiſhing blow given to the naval power of France; for during the remainder of the war they never undertook any thing of conſequence. The ſquadron of m. de Thurot for a little while had better fortune. He eſcaped out of Dunkirk, and proceeded northward. Commodore Boys, who had blocked him up in Dunkirk, purſued him as far as Scotland, but to no purpoſe; he took refuge in Bergen, where he remained on account of the boiſterous weather till January 1760, when he ſet ſail in great want of proviſion for the coaſt of Scotland: He landed on the iſland of Iſla, where he was informed of the defeat of m. Conflans; having refreſhed his men, and obtained a comfortable, tho' a ſmall ſupply of proviſions, he ſet ſail for Ireland. On the 21ſt of February he effected a deſcent on that kingdom at Carrickfergus, and compelled a few troops in garriſon there to ſurrender; but as a body of men were aſſembling, he found it unſafe to remain on ſhore, and therefore re-imbarked. While this adventurer continued in theſe northern ſeas, the coaſts of the two kingdoms were greatly alarmed; but theſe apprehenſions diſſipated in a few days. Captain Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, being informed by a diſpatch from the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, of Thurot's ſituation, immediately ſet ſail in queſt of him, and on the 28th of February, their ſquadrons, conſiſting of only three frigates each, came to an engagement off the Iſle of Man. During the conflict Thurot was killed, ſoon after which his ſhip ſurrendered, and the other two followed her example. Theſe repeated diſaſters to the French fleet, as well as their

loſſes in every part of the world, reduced them to the neceſſity of ſtopping payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the poſts. 2. Thoſe conſtituted upon the cheſt of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the ſame cheſt. 4. Thoſe of the two royal lotteries, 5. The reimburſement of bills drawn to bear on the ſame cheſt. 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two ſols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimburſement of the capitals of rents. 9. The payments of bills diſchargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Thoſe of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,233,000l.

On the other hand, the credit of Great Britain was riſen to an aſtoniſhing height; the parliament met in the month of November, and having fixed the number of ſailors to be employed in the enſuing year at 73,000, and that of the ſoldiers at 57,000; they granted for the maintenance of theſe forces, and other uſes, the ſum of 15,503,563 l.

(1760.)

DURING the winter the Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia made offers towards a general pacification; but they had no effect; perhaps becauſe the French hoped to retake ſome of the places they had loſt, and thereby be enabled to inſiſt on better terms than at this time they could expect. The Empreſs-queen determined to exert her utmoſt, in order to recover Sileſia. General Laudohn, with 50,000 men, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Glatz; but finding his operations expoſed to much annoyance from 23,000 Pruſſians, who were at Landſhut, under the command of general Fouquet, he raiſed the ſiege, and attacked the Pruſſians on the 23d of June in their entrenchments. After a very warm diſpute of five hours, in which both ſides loſt a great number of men, he at length forced their lines, and, except about 4000 of the Pruſſians who eſcaped, the vanquiſhed, together with their commander, were all made priſoners. The conqueror then reduced Glatz. He next marched to Breſlau, the ſiege of which he undertook; but prince Henry of Pruſſia advancing to it's relief, obliged him to relinquiſh his deſign. The King of Pruſſia, who was all this while in Saxony watching count Daun, finding that the enemy's great puſh was in Sileſia, and that

that the Ruſſians were advancing to join Laudohn, in order to reduce it, quitted Saxony, and marched for that Duchy himſelf. Daun was no ſooner informed of this movement, than he followed him with ſuch expedition, that in a ſhort time he gained two days march on him. The King perceiving his deſign fruſtrated, ſuddenly returned into Saxony, and immediately laid ſiege to Dreſden. Daun finding himſelf duped by this ſtratagem, returned likewiſe, and obliged the King of Pruſſia to raiſe the ſiege. The affairs of Sileſia now became critical, the Ruſſians being on the point of joining Laudohn, the King reſolved to march into that Duchy at all events. Daun again followed him; but the King gained poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp at Leignitz, which prevented the enemy gaining any material advantage over him at that inſtant. However, he had not remained long there, before he found himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, and conſequently expoſed to a ſurprize: But he drew his enemies into the ſnare. It was concerted to ſurprize his camp, in like manner as had been done at Hohkirchen. He was aware of it, and therefore ſecretly quitted his camp; and when general Laudohn advanced to the attack, he fell upon him unexpectedly at three of the clock in the morning, and, after a conflict of three hours, totally defeated him with the loſs of 8000 men. The ſcheme being thus fruſtrated, Daun turned his attention another way: He marched to Schweidnitz, and laid ſiege to that place. The King followed him, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean time the Ruſſians, who could not, on account of Laudohn's defeat, effect their junction with the Auſtrians in Sileſia, entered Brandenburgh, and penetrated even to Berlin, where they levied heavy contributions, and committed the moſt cruel and horrid ravages. Notwithſtanding his Pruſſian Majeſty had gained a great victory, he was ſtill encompaſſed by his numerous adverſaries; the army of the Empire was in poſſeſſion of Saxony; the Ruſſians were on one ſide of him, and count Daun on another.

In this uncomfortable ſituation he wrote a letter to the marquis d'Argens (author of the Jewiſh Spy) a native in France, who reſided at Berlin under his protection, in which is this remarkable paſſage, confirming the opinion, that the French by their German engagements loſt their ſettlements in the diſtant parts of the world: 'Well, my dear marquis, what is 'become of the peace with France? Your nation, you ſee, 'is more blind than you imagined, *Thoſe fools loſe Canada 'and Pondicherry to pleaſe the queen and the Czarina.* Hea'ven grant that prince Ferdinand may well reward them for 'their

'their zeal. The officers, innocent of theſe evils, and the 'ſoldiers, will be made victims, and the illuſtrious offenders 'will ſuffer nothing.'

The King really knew not which way to turn, till at length hearing the Ruſſians were in poſſeſſion of Berlin, he inſtantly marched to it's aſſiſtance. But the Ruſſians retired on his approach, and marched into Sileſia, where they for ſome time threatened to lay ſiege to Breſlau; but at length they retired into their own country, after having unſucceſsfully attempted the reduction of Colberg. Count Daun had followed the King of Pruſſia out of Sileſia. The King having reinforced his army with the troops which defended Saxony and Brandenburgh, began to meditate ſome important blow. Daun was at this time encamped near Torgau. The King reſolved to put the event of the campaign to the hazard. He attacked Daun on the 3d of November, and after four vigorous aſſaults forced his camp, and obliged his troops to retreat in utter confuſion. The Pruſſians loſt about three thouſand men, and the Auſtrians above twice that number. This defeat obliged count Daun to call general Laudohn out of Sileſia, as he ſtood in need of reinforcement to prevent being drove into Bohemia. Sileſia upon this reverted into the hands of the Pruſſians. Both armies then took up their winter quarters in Saxony, and matters were put nearly on the ſame footing as at the opening of the campaign. Thus the noble ſtruggles made by the King of Pruſſia foiled all the attempts of his adverſaries.

The French grand army was this year commanded by the duke de Broglio, who had ſucceeded to that poſt on the diſgrace of m. de Contades. Beſides this army the French aſſembled another of thirty thouſand men, the command of which was given to the count de St. Germain. Broglio intending to penetrate thro' Heſſe into Hanover, made ſome motions as if he would join St. Germain for that purpoſe: Upon which prince Ferdinand reſolved to prevent their junction, and ordered the hereditary prince, with the advanced guard of the army, to attack the enemy, which he did at Corbach, and met with a ſevere repulſe; however he ſoon after retrieved his reputation, by attacking a party of the enemy at Exdorf, which had advanced on the left of the allies; Elliot's Engliſh light horſe bravely diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this encounter. This corps of the enemy were routed; but Broglio did not ſeem to mind theſe actions: He effected his junction with St. Germain. However that officer conceived a diſguſt to him, and reſigned his command, which was given to the chevalier de Muys. Broglio directed him to cut off the communication of the allies with

with Weſtphalia, while he entered Heſſe. De Muys took his poſts near Warburg, where prince Ferdinand attacked him in both flank and rear, and obliged him to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, with the loſs of fifteen hundred men and ſome cannon. The marquis of Granby, who had ſucceeded to the command of the Britiſh troops on the diſmiſſion of lord George Sackville, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this attack. While prince Ferdinand's attention was employed here, the duke de Broglio, without any difficulty, entered Heſſe and took Caſſel. To make amends for this, the hereditary prince undertook an expedition to the Lower Rhine, where he ſcoured the country, and took Cleves: He next inveſted Weſel, and would have taken the place had not his operation been retarded by heavy rains. When Broglio heard of this adventure, he detached m. de Caſtries with a large body of troops to drive the hereditary prince out of the country. Theſe officers came to an action near Campen, when the French, by the advantage of the ground and ſuperiority in numbers, defeated the allies, who loſt ſixteen hundred men, chiefly Britiſh, among whom was lord Downe. The hereditary prince then repaſſed the Rhine, and joined the grand army; ſoon after which both armies went into winter quarters. All the advantage which the French army could be ſaid to have gained by their two armies in this campaign, was only the poſſeſſion of Heſſe; a ſufficient proof, that if they intended to involve us in the expence of a ruinous German war, they at leaſt were at an equal expence and ſuffered more diſgrace by the conduct of their generals.

The French force in Canada, notwithſtanding the conqueſt of Quebec, was ſtill formidable. The fortifications of that city being in a ruinous condition, general Murray, who was left governor of it, with ſix thouſand men, began to repair them: But before this could be done, the marquis de Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, collected his forces together, and in the month of April gave battle to general Murray on the heights contiguous to the town; from which by their ſuperiority, they compelled him to retire, and throw himſelf into the town, which they immediately beſieged. However, as ſoon as the river was open, a ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of lord Colville, who ſailed up the river, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege and retire to Montreal, the only place which the French held in Canada. Againſt this place general Amherſt directed his motions; he aſſembled his troops as early as poſſible at Oſwego, and embarked them on board a number of battoes, and ſailed down the river St. Lawrence till he came to the iſland of Montreal, where he landed in the

month of September; and next day the marquis de Vaudreuil propoſed terms of capitulation for the ſurrender of all Canada, which were agreed to. This valuable acquiſition was made with little loſs on our ſide, and great honour to the commanders, eſpecially of the troops from Quebec, as they appeared at Montreal before Amherſt arrived, but waited to act jointly with him, without any jealouſy of his bearing away the whole honour of it's reduction.

In Aſia we left general Lally, when the tide of war was turning againſt him; he aſſembled all the French troops at Arcot, about the latter end of 1759, and reſolved to retake Wandewaſh, as it was a place of the utmoſt conſequence to both the French and Engliſh. Colonel Coote determined to preſerve it, and began a forced march for it's defence. The ſiege, however, was formed and a breach made before colonel Coote approached. On the 21ſt of January, 1760, the Britiſh forces arrived within a ſmall diſtance of the French, and it was agreed to give them battle inſtantly. The armies drew up, and the firing began about one o'clock. In leſs than an hour the left wing of the French army was totally routed, chiefly by the bravery of major Brereton; upon which their right wing precipitately quitted the field, abandoning their camp, in which the victors found twenty-two pieces of cannon. The French loſt in this action upwards of 800 men. Among the priſoners was brigadier-general Buſſy, who had but lately come from the kingdom of Bengal to reinforce Lally's army. The vanquiſhed fled firſt to Chittiput, and having collected their fugitives, retreated in the beſt manner they were able to Pondicherry. In a few days colonel Coote laid ſiege to Chittiput, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender priſoners of war. Major Monſon was detached to reduce Timmery, which he effected, and obliged that garriſon alſo to ſurrender. In the mean time colonel Coote marched to Arcot, which place he beſieged, and by the 10th of February compelled it to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Theſe ſignal ſucceſſes reduced the French to ſo low an ebb, that the chief inhabitants of their ſettlements and their military officers were on the verge of deſpair. Nothing could be a greater proof of their diſtreſs than their circulation of paper-money to their dependents and commercial friends, until it was refuſed: And in like agonies of extremity the inhabitants of their few remaining ſettlements were at different times obliged to deliver in their plate, even to their ſwords and ſhoe-buckles, that they might be coined into rupees, in order to maintain the troops, who were grown intolerably mutinous.

When

When colonel Coote had finiſhed the conqueſt of Arcot, he was ordered to proceed to Bengal, where troubles were ſuppoſed to be again breaking out. Jaffier Aly Cawn was far from enjoying the eſteem of the natives; and being conſcious of this defect, he kept a numerous army about his perſon, which ſtill made him more diſagreeable; as the natives of this country are extremely jealous of each others proceedings; beſides there were ſtill a great number of adherents to the late Salajud Dowla. The Engliſh indeed had not looked upon him in the ſame favourable light ſince the affair of the Dutch as before; they had found he was fickle and deceitful. When colonel Coote began his march for Bengal, he left the direction of affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel to major Monſon. This officer took the forts of Allumparvey, Permacoil, and other places of leſſer account. Afterwards he laid ſiege to Karical, while rear-admiral Corniſh blocked it up by ſea. This fortreſs, which is ninety miles ſouth from Pondicherry, was at this time the only ſettlement which the French had on the coaſt of Coromandel, except Pondicherry, and on that account it was of the next importance. The ſquadron bombarded it furiouſly, while major Monſon, finding it a regular fortification, (built upon the plan of Liſle in Flanders) attacked it vigorouſly, and in a ſhort time obliged the garriſon to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The French admiral m. d'Ache, who had ſailed to the iſlands of Mauritius, not only to repair the damages he had received from admiral Pococke in the engagements laſt year, but alſo to take in ſhip-ſtores and other neceſſaries, reſigned his command to Count d'Eſtain, and returned to Europe. His ſucceſſor, inſtead of going near the coaſt of Coromandel, ſet ſail with part of the ſquadron to the iſland of Sumatra, in order to deſtroy the Engliſh ſettlements upon it, and he was ſo ſucceſsful in this enterprize, that he ravaged, plundered, and deſtroyed almoſt the whole coaſt, with very little oppoſition. The little garriſons of the forts Bender-Abaſſia, Maſcata, Nattal and Tappanopoly were made priſoners: At the laſt mentioned place he met with ſome reſiſtance, and two or three ſmall veſſels were taken under theſe forts. Count d'Eſtain proceeded next to fort Marlborough, three miles eaſt from Bencoolen. Unfortunately, a little before he approached, the Denham Indiaman had arrived there. Governor Carter perſuaded Captain Tyron to ſtay before the place, as the enemy were every day expected, and his force would greatly add to their ſtrength, and as he hoped, protect the fort. On the 2d of April, 1760, Count d'Eſtain with two ſhips appeared,

and as one of them, full of men, bore down upon the Denham, it was judged proper to ſet her immediately on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; which was accordingly done, and the crew had juſt time enough to eſcape; they were kindly received into the fort, where, with this addition, the number of Europeans did not exceed 300 men. On the 3d the enemy came to an anchor as near as poſſible to the fortifications, and as they at firſt appeared under Engliſh colours, they continued them flying till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they begun to cannonade the fort for about two hours, and then ceaſed. The fire was returned, but not to do them any damage, as governor Carter had only eight guns which could reach them. In the night the fort was abandoned, and next morning the enemy landed without oppoſition. Had they been attacked during their landing, or in their boats, before they gained the ſhore, there is the greateſt probability to believe they would have been defeated; but the garriſon had fled into the country in deſpair; mean while the enemy took poſſeſſion of fort Marlborough and the town of Bencoolen; and on Good-Friday the fugitives ſurrendered to the enemy, in order to avoid being cut to pieces by the natives, which they had reaſon to expect if they continued in that defenceleſs condition. The French commander promiſed that their effects and private property ſhould be ſecured for them, but he did not keep his word, for he allowed his ſoldiers and ſailors who came thither in rags, to plunder and ranſack all the houſes, and put on the cloaths of the inhabitants, as well as to ſteal and put on board the ſhips all the moveable effects they could find. In June the Engliſh were ſent away to Batavia, and from thence to Bengal; but before they arrived at this latter place many died of the flux, occaſioned by the bad food which they had from the French.

Immediately after the ſurrender of Karical, major Monſon began his march for Pondicherry, and came within ſight of this laſt reſource of the French in thoſe parts, about the beginning of September. As Pondicherry was fortified by a boundary, or chain of redoubts and intrenchments, it was determined to attack theſe firſt, before a regular ſiege was carried on againſt the town itſelf. At day-break on the 10th the major, with a party of Highlanders, landed from the Sandwich Indiamen, and a party of Draper's and Coote's regiments attacked the fort of Aracupong, about ſeven miles from Pondicherry: It was almoſt inacceſſible, being defended by a thick wood, lined with cannon and a large battery. The Highlanders attacked the enemy in the wood ſword in hand, and drove

drove them out; the others reſerved their fire till they came within ſight of the French, when giving them a full diſcharge, they fled precipitately. The Highlanders then cut through a hedge, and ruſhing upon the enemy's cannon, ſeized them immediately; but unfortunately major Monſon, who had put himſelf at the head of this little corps, in order to give greater ſpirit to the action, received a cannon-ſhot in his thigh, which broke it. The enemy perceiving the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of their cannon abandoned their fort and fled to Pondicherry. Of twenty-two pieces of cannon which were taken, ſixteen or ſeventeen were loaded almoſt to the mouths with ſquare bars of iron, at leaſt ſix inches long, and leſſer pieces of jagged iron; the miſchievous intention of which we leave to the reader's imagination. Major Monſon's misfortune prevented this advantage being made the beſt uſe of at that time; but colonel Coote was no ſooner informed of this diſaſter, than he prepared to aſſume the command, and immediately began his march from Madraſs for Pondicherry. In a ſhort time after his arrival the enemy were driven from all their outworks, and they had not one ſingle poſt or redoubt but what were within the walls. He next formed the blockade, which was done in ſo effectual a manner, that there was not the leaſt communication between the inhabitants of the town and the natives of the country. His army conſiſted of no more than three thouſand five hundred Europeans, and about ſeven thouſand ſeapoys. In the mean time the admirals Stevens and Corniſh, with the fleet, formed the blockade by ſea.

Thus was Pondicherry ſhut up on every ſide, ſo that it could not receive reinforcements or ſupplies from any part. Though no operations of a regular ſiege were yet carried on, nor the town in the leaſt preſſed from any quarter, yet a great number of deſerters came from it, principally owing to the general diſlike, and even hatred, which was ſhewn to m. Lally, the governor. He had ſhot one of his officers, and hanged two others, for murmuring at his proceedings, which occaſioned the number of deſerters to increaſe conſiderably. It cannot be doubted that Lally was an excellent ſoldier; he poſſeſſed great martial abilities, with an enlivening wit and a large fund of good ſenſe; but all theſe qualities were obſcured by a ſavage ferocity of temper, in which his mildeſt cruelties ſeemed like the tranſports of rage; pride was in him, perhaps, carried to as high a pitch as it ever was in any man: he deſpiſed every perſon that was below the character or dignity of a general, and his contempt of mankind brought a general deteſtation on himſelf; with all his haughtineſs of

ſpirit he was very ſlovenly in his perſon, being frequently known to wear the ſame ſhirt, ſtockings and ſlippers for weeks together.

As the monſoon ſeaſon was every day expected to ſet in, colonel Coote thought it moſt prudent not to open any trenches againſt the town, till the tempeſtuous and rainy weather was over, but only to continue a ſtrict blockade, which he was ſenſible muſt in time reduce the enemy to great hardſhips by the want of proviſions. There being ſome ſhips in the harbour, which got in at the beginning of the year, admiral Stevens judged it neceſſary to cut them out, to prevent their eſcaping to the iſland, and returning to the garriſon with ſupplies, which it was expected they would, as they were preparing to ſail. Accordingly on the 6th of October in the evening the boats were manned and armed, and at two o'clock next morning they rowed into the harbour, and attacked under the walls of the town, the Balcine, a French frigate, and the Hermione, an Indiaman, with ſuch uncommon ſpirit and alacrity, that, notwithſtanding the enemy's crews made a vigorous oppoſition, and there was a warm fire of both artillery and muſketry from the town, they cut their cables, and carried them off to the ſquadron.

The ſeaſon now beginning to grow precarious, the admirals Stevens and Corniſh prepared to leave the coaſt of Coromandel during the monſoons, and retire to the Dutch iſland of Ceylon, where they could refit the ſquadron, and ſhelter it from the ſtorms which were expected to come on. Agreeable to this reſolution they ſet ſail on the 23d, and committed the blockade of Pondicherry by ſea to captain Haldane, with five ſhips of the line. By this time the garriſon and inhabitants began to be in great diſtreſs for proviſions. Lally found means to convey an account of his ſituation and miſeries to the commander of the French fleet; upon which ſeven of the ſhips ſailed away for the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived there in December, in order to take in eight months proviſion for 16,000 men; but as they did not leave the Cape till January, it was impoſſible they ſhould arrive at Pondicherry time enough to give the garriſon any relief.

Colonel Coote's account of the ſiege, in a letter to the Secretary of State, being very particular without being tedious, take as follows.

'On the 9th of November, ſays the colonel, I ordered a 'riochet battery for four pieces of cannon to be erected to 'the northward, at about one thouſand four hundred yards 'from the town, more with a deſign to harraſs the enemy, than

'than any damage we could think of doing to the works at 'ſo great a diſtance. On the 10th we began to land our ſtores, 'and to prepare every thing for the carrying on the ſiege. On 'the 26th, I imagined the diſtreſſes of the enemy might be much 'augmented, and garriſon duty rendered very fatiguing, if ſome 'batteries were erected againſt different quarters of the town: 'I therefore gave directions to the engineers to pitch on pro-'per places, at ſuch diſtances and in ſuch ſituations, that 'the ſhot from them might enfilade the works of the garriſon, 'and our men and guns not to be expoſed to any certain fire 'of the enemy. Accordingly the following batteries were 'traced out, one (called the Prince of Wales's) for four guns, 'near the beach on the north ſide, to enfilade the great ſtreet, 'which runs north and ſouth thro' the White Town: One 'for four guns and two mortars, to the north-weſt baſtion, 'called the Duke of Cumberland's: A third, called Prince 'Edward's, for two guns, to the ſouthward, at one thou-'ſand two hundred yards diſtance, to enfilade the ſtreets from 'ſouth to north, ſo as to croſs the fire from the northern 'battery: And a fourth, to the ſouth-weſt, called Prince Wil-'liam's, for two guns and one mortar, at one thouſand one 'hundred yards diſtance, in order to deſtroy the guns in St. 'Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the veſſels and boats near 'it. On the the 8th at midnight they were all opened toge-'ther, and continued firing till day-light. On the 9th the 'enemy kept up a warm fire on our batteries, without doing 'much damage to them. On the 25th admiral Stevens, 'with four ſhips of the line arrived off Pondicherry, having 'parted company with admiral Corniſh and his diviſion the '16th inſtant in hard weather. On the the 29th a battery, 'called the Hanover, was begun, for ten guns and three mor-'tars, to the north-ward, at four hundred and fifty yards diſ-'tance from the town, againſt the north-weſt counterguard 'and curtain.

'On the 1ſt of January, 1761, we had a very violent 'ſtorm of wind and rain; it began at eight o'clock in the 'evening, and laſted till between three and four the next 'morning. I gave directions for the repairing our batteries, 'which the ſtorm had almoſt ruined, and the putting every 'thing into the beſt order our preſent ſituation would admit.

'On the 4th we had again the agreeable ſight of admiral 'Stevens. On the 5th I attacked a poſt of very great conſe-'quence to the enemy, in which were four twenty-eight poun-'ders, called St. Thomas's Redoubt, and carried it without 'any loſs. At day-light on the 6th 300 of the enemy's gre-'nadiers retook it, owing to the officer commanding the re-

doubt

'doubt not being able to keep his Seapoys together. This 'day admiral Corniſh arrived; and as moſt of the ſhips which 'had been diſabled were now refitted, the blockade of Pondi-'cherry was as compleat as ever. On the 12th, the Hanover 'battery being repaired, kept up a very briſk fire, and greatly 'damaged the counter-guard baſtion, and made a breach in 'the curtain. On the 13th, in the evening, I ordered a work-'ing party of 700 Europeans and 400 Laſcars, with the pioneers 'company, under the command of a major, to the northward, 'where the engineers traced out a battery for eleven guns and 'three mortars. At eight o'clock they began a trench for 'introducing gabions of four feet high, which were to form 'the interior facing of the battery. At the ſame time a pa-'rallel was begun 90 yards in the rear, of 250 yards long, 'and an approach of 400 yards in the length. Notwithſtand-'ing the moon ſhone very bright, and the battery within 500 'yards of the walls, every thing went on without the leaſt 'diſturbance from the enemy. By morning ſix embrazures 'were in a condition to receive guns, and the reſt far advanced. 'This was called the Royal Battery. On the 14th the Hano-'ver battery kept up a conſtant fire the whole day, which 'entirely ruined the weſt face and flank of the north-weſt 'baſtion. On the 15th the Royal battery was opened, which 'by eight o'clock in the morning ſilenced the fire of the ene-'my, and gave us an opportunity of beginning a trench to 'contain our Royal mortars and three guns, for the more 'ſpeedy demolition of the demi-baſtion and ravelin of Ma-'draſs-gate. This evening colonel Durre, of the Royal artil-'lery, the chief of the Jeſuits, and two civilians, were ſent 'out by m. Lally, with propoſals for the delivering up the 'garriſon. On the 6th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the 'grenadiers of my regiment took poſſeſſion of the Villenour 'gate, and in the evening thoſe of Draper's of the citadel. 'The commiſſaries were immediately ordered to take an ac-'count of all the military ſtores found in the place.'

During the ſiege many deſerters came to the Engliſh camp, and reported, that ſo great was the diſtreſs among the garriſon for proviſions, that a cat had been known to ſell for twenty Shillings ſterling, and that half of a dog had been ſold for ſixteen Shillings. They had ſupported themſelves a conſiderable time on a cocoa-nut-tree, the heart of which they cut and boiled. A pint of rice ſold for two pagods or ſixteen Shillings. Their fire at firſt was very ſlow, but after a while it was tolera-bly briſk.

While the ſiege was thus vigorous puſhed by land, the admirals, animated with zeal for the ſervice they were on, renewed

newed the blockade of Pondicherry before the tempeſtuous weather was over; they knew ſome of the enemy's ſhips had been ſent to the Cape of Good Hope to take in proviſions for the garriſon, and that they were ſhortly expected on the coaſt of Coromandel, and were therefore reſolved to have a ſufficient force to prevent any ſuccours being thrown into the town. Unfortunately on the firſt of January, about ten o'clock at night, ſuch a violent ſtorm came on, that admiral Stevens ſoon found it would be impoſſible to weather it out; therefore he ordered the ſhips to cut their cables and put to ſea; but the wind ſhifting a few minutes after, drove the Acquitain and Sunderland, two ſixty gun ſhips, on the coaſt, where they foundered, and their whole crews, except eleven men, periſhed: The Newcaſtle of fifty guns, the Queenborough of twenty, and the Protector fire-ſhip, were alſo drove aſhore and loſt; but moſt of their crews were ſaved, as well as their cannon and ſtores; three other ſhips were diſmaſted, but providentially the remainder of the ſquadron did not receive much damage, and part of it was entirely out of the ſtorm, tho' only at ten leagues diſtance. Theſe were the ſhips which left Ceylon after admiral Stevens, and were now on their paſſage to join him, which they did when he returned to Pondicherry road, a day or two after the ſtorm had ſubſided; and their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance was of the utmoſt importance at this critical time. The damaged ſhips were repaired as ſoon as poſſible, and every thing on board the fleet put in a proper ſtate of defence, in caſe of an attack from the French ſquadron, whoſe appearance they every day expected.

As ſoon as general Lally was informed of the misfortune which had befallen the Engliſh fleet, he immediately ordered a public thankſgiving; but with his uſual cruelty, he ordered his garriſon to fire at one of the wrecks which the wind drove near the harbour, leſt any body ſhould be ſaved; in return for which providence ſeems to have puniſhed him proportionably to his want of humanity; for tho' the beach was covered with ſhips proviſions, any of which would have been a comfortable relief to the diſtreſſed garriſon, yet the ſea did not waſh the leaſt part near the place. At the ſame time he diſpatched a letter to monſ. Raymond, the French reſident at Pullicat, which was intercepted by admiral Stevens, and of which the following is a literal tranſlation.

'*Pondicherry, Jan.* 2. 1761.

'Mr. RAYMOND,

'THE Engliſh ſquadron is no more, Sir: Out of the 12 ſhips they had in our road, 7 are loſt, crews and all; the 4 others diſmaſted; and it appears there is no more than one frigate that hath eſcaped; therefore don't loſe an inſtant to ſend us chelingoes upon chelingoes loaded with rice: The Dutch have nothing to fear now; beſides (according to the rights of the nations) they are only to ſend us no proviſion *themſelves*, and we are no more blocked up by ſea.

'The ſaving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already: if you miſs the preſent opportunity it will be entirely your fault: Don't forget alſo ſmall chelingoes: Offer great rewards: I expect ſeventeen thouſand morattoes within theſe four days. In ſhort, riſque all, attempt all, force all, and ſend us ſome rice, ſhould it be but half a garſe at a time.

'Signed LALLY.'

As letters of this kind might have been ſent to other perſons, which the admiral had not the good fortune to intercept, he immediately wrote and diſpatched circular letters to all the Dutch and Daniſh ſettlements, acquainting them, 'That notwithſtanding the repreſentations of general Lally, 'he had eleven ſail of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips of the 'line, and two frigates, under his command, in condition 'for ſervice, holding the blockade of Pondicherry; and as 'that place was cloſely inveſted and blockaded by land and 'ſea; and, as in that caſe, it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to give them any ſuccour or relief, he had determined to ſeize any veſſel or boat, that 'ſhould attempt to throw any proviſions into that place.'

Lally, in a certain expectation of relief from the French ſquadron, allowed himſelf to be blockaded within the town for eight months, till at length, not having a morſel of any thing to eat, he was compelled by famine to ſurrender. He made no kind of articles for the inhabitants: The chief of the Jeſuits demanded of the colonel, that their effects and houſes ſhould not be plundered; but that they ſhould have liberty to remove or ſtay as they pleaſed, and continue in the free exerciſe of their religion, with all their privileges preſerved as heretofore. But he returned no anſwer.

There were found in the place five hundred ſixty ſeven pieces of cannon, iron and braſs, fifteen howitzers, eighty nine

nine mortars, and a large quantity of ſhot, powder, ſhells, &c. with muſkets for upwards of 50,000 men, and a prodigious number of piſtols, carbines, ſwords, bayonets, &c. and a great quantity of every other kind of military ſtores. But, contrary to the expectations of ſome, who fancied the town was rich, there was no treaſure found in it.

It will be an eternal ignominy on m. Lally's character, that when he marched out of the citadel, the private men, and many of his officers, ſaluted him with a loud hiſs, and expreſſed their avowed hatred to his perſon by loading him with the moſt opprobious names. His commiſſary, who had been a dupe to his paſſions, attempted to vindicate him; but he paid for his officiouſneſs with his life: And even Lally himſelf, had he not at this inſtant fled to the Engliſh, would alſo have been aſſaſſinated by the incenſed ſoldiery. The garriſon conſiſted of about fourteen hundred and fifty men. The Governor's houſe and other edifices were blown up; and the fortifications were almoſt wholly eraſed, in the ſame manner as the French had done at fort St. David in 1758.

During theſe ſucceſſes in Aſia, our fleets ſtationed on the coaſt of France blocked up all the French ports, and thereby put almoſt an entire ſtop to their commerce. Some of our ſhips took the little iſland of Dumet, which proved of conſiderable uſe to the fleet, as they had a conveniency at hand for water, which had been ſent before this in tranſports from England at no little expence, beſides obliging the men ſometimes to ſubmit to ſhort allowance.

In the mean time, the attention of all ranks of people was entirely engroſſed by the proceedings of a general court-martial, appointed by his majeſty to ſit on the trial of lord George Sackville. His lordſhip had petitioned for one as ſoon as he arrived in England, after the battle of Minden; but it was not found convenient to aſſemble it till the beginning of March; for many officers were to be called home from Germany as witneſſes; and there were other reaſons of a different nature. It was a point very much diſputed, whether a man, diſmiſſed from all his military employments, could be tried for an offence, committed while he was in the army; and as opinions differed extremely, the caſe was laid before the judges: It was ſuppoſed from their anſwer, that he might legally be tried. Accordingly, a court-martial, conſiſting of the following members, met the 29th of February, for that purpoſe:

Lieutenant-general Onſlow, preſident,
Sir Charles Howard,
Campbell,
Lord Delaware,
Cholmondeley,
Stuart,
earl of Panmure,
Ancram,
Harrington,
Abercrombie,
Albemarle,
Major-general Leighton,
Carr,
earl of Effingham,
Belford.

On lord George Sackville's being ordered into court, the judge advocate informed him, that all the members of the court were ſworn, except general Belford, who was omitted on account of an objection which his lordſhip ſaid he ſhould make to his being a member of the court. The following were the reaſons lord George Sackville gave for his objection: "When I was appointed lieutenant-general to the ordnance, the duke of Marlborough ordered me to take the care of the artillery regiment upon me, as being one part of my duty. I repreſented to his grace, that when lord Ligonier was lieutenant-general of the ordnance, the care of the regiment was left entirely to the colonel commandant; the duke of Marlborough ſaid, that he could not in decency have deſired my lord Ligonier, who was his ſuperior in the army, and had been for many years at the head of the ordnance, to enter into ſuch a regimental detail; but that he had no ſcruple in deſiring me to do that part of my duty, and to report regularly to him. I expreſſed my readineſs to obey; but ſaid, that, previous to my undertaking it, his grace muſt give the proper orders for recalling that power, which was at preſent in general Belford, as colonel commandant. It was accordingly done: And when I began to execute my duty, general Belford expreſſed his diſapprobation of it, thinking any diminution of his authority might be looked upon as ſome degree of diſapprobation of his conduct. I explained to him what had paſſed upon the ſubject, between the maſter General and me, and he appeared better ſatisfied; and, as I afterwards had an opportunity of repreſenting his ſervices ſo favourably to his majeſty, as to obtain a conſiderable increaſe of emolument to him, I did imagine any little difference that had happened had been entirely forgot; but

but perſons in my ſituation are apt to watch little attentions, which at other times would be too trifling to regard; and as, upon my return to England, general Belford was the only field officer of the regiment, with whom I was acquainted, that did not ſhew me even the common civility of a viſit; and, as the firſt act he did, after my quitting the ſervice, was recommending another aid de camp to my lord Granby, in preference to the artillery officer, who had attended me in that capacity, I confeſs theſe circumſtances induced me to think, that general Belford ſtill retained ſome degree of ill-will towards me; and tho' I am far from ſuſpecting that he would knowingly permit his judgment to be influenced by ſuch conſiderations; yet, as there is ſuch a biaſs in the minds of men, when there is any prejudice in their breaſt, that it often affects their actions, unknown to themſelves; I ſhould hope the General would decline ſitting upon this trial; I do not offer what I have ſaid as a legal objection, but rather ſubmit my reaſons to the court and to him, for their conſideration."

General Belford generouſly replied that he was far from being deſirous to ſit when objected to: the court thereupon took the affair into conſideration, and were unanimouſly of opinion, that lord George Sackville's objection was inſufficient to exclude general Bedford from ſitting as a member; but as the General continued to excuſe himſelf from ſitting, the court agreed to it.

The trial of lord Charles Hay, a circumſtance we formerly mentioned came on before the ſame court, where the abſurdity of his behaviour, and ſome unwarrantable expreſſions which eſcaped him, provoked general Onſlow, the preſident, who had a juſt ſenſe of his dignity and equal ſpirit. He warmly reſented it, which warmth had ſuch an effect, that it coſt the preſident his life, for ſcarce had he concluded his ſpeech, but he dropped down of an apoplectic fit, and being inſtantly carried home, died in a few days. He was a great loſs to the court-martial on lord George Sackville, as no man was ever more proper for a preſident of one.

There was a new warrant iſſued the 6th of March, appointing ſir Charles Howard preſident, and adding to the former number of members, the major-generals lord Robert Manners, lord Robert Bertie, and Julius Cæſar. There were ſome remarkable articles of evidence in the courſe of the tryal which deſerve to be remembered.

It was obſerved, not only by the members of the court, but by all preſent, that lieutenant colonel Sl----p---r gave his evidence with great acrimony, and was to appearance, much

prejudiced againſt the priſoner; this was what occaſioned lord George Sackville's ſaying in his defence, "In what manner "his evidence was given, I need not remind the court." And again. "If his own behaviour has not entirely deſtroyed the credit of his teſtimony." Lieut. col. Sloper, in his evidence, ſays, that as ſoon as capt. Ligonier had delivered the duke's order to lord George Sackville, he, Sloper, ſaid to him, "For GOD's ſake, ſir, repeat your orders to that man, mean-"ing lord George Sackville, that he may not pretend not to "underſtand them, for it is near half an hour ago, that he has "received orders to advance, and yet we are ſtill here," adding, "But you ſee the condition he is in." Being afterwards deſired to explain what he meant by theſe laſt words; he anſwer'd, that his opinion was, that lord George Sackville was alarmed to a very great degree; that when his lordſhip ordered him to advance, he ſeemed in the greateſt confuſion.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. Sir Charles Howard, if I may be allowed to ſay a few words, touching this gentleman's, Sloper's, evidence, before I go any further.

Gen. CHOLMONDELEY. I am never againſt any indulgence to the priſoner.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. It is a little hard for me to be ſitting here, and have a witneſs come againſt me, with an opinion of this nature, and I forced to remain entirely ſilent. I ſhall only ſay a few words. This ſort of attack, I never heard before, from any one gentleman whatever, excepting from the private inſinuations of this Gentleman, now before the court; I have heard of it ſince he has been in London. I am glad that he has mentioned it in court. I, --------

Lord ALBEMARLE. Your lordſhip will have an opportunity of obſerving upon that in your defence; but I am afraid we are going into an irregularity.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. I will only ſay now, that I will prove my conduct that day, with regard to every branch of it, and I will ſhew that Gentleman to the court in ſuch colours for truth and veracity.

Lord ALBEMARLE. My lord, this is being very irregular.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. Your lordſhip may imagine, that what I muſt feel on ſuch an occaſion; and it is difficult not to expreſs it inſtantly.

Lord ALBEMARLE, I am very ſenſible of what your lordſhip muſt feel, and ſorry to interrupt; but the courſe of proceeding.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. I ſubmit to the opinion of the court, and muſt beg leave to ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that no ſuch evidence

evidence has been given. I ſhall now go on as if nothing of this ſort had happened, and ſhall treat that Gentleman, in that part of his evidence, with the contempt it deſerves.

In another place his lordſhip makes an obſervation, on the evidence of colonel Sloper, in the following words: "Having "mentioned colonel Sloper's evidence, I am obliged to take "notice of the aſperſion he has thrown upon my character. "Imputations of that nature were very little to be expected "from one, who had the honour of arriving at the rank of "a lieutenant general, after a courſe of ſome duty and ſer-"vice. It is hard upon a man to be obliged to ſpeak of his "own actions, or of his own merit and character in the "ſervice; but what makes it on this occaſion abſolutely un-"neceſſary, is, that moſt of the generals, who compoſe this "court, have either commanded me, or I have had the ho-"nour of commanding them; and I am perſwaded they will "feel a generous indignation in my behalf, and declare whe-"ther my former conduct ought not to have exempted me "from ſo mean an attack."

During the courſe of the defence, lord George Sackville aſked his witneſſes ſuch queſtions as he thought would contradict the aſperſions thrown on him by lieutenant colonel Sloper; endeavouring to prove his evidence falſe in ſeveral particulars. As ſoon as he had finiſhed examining his witneſſes, the judge advocate obſerved that his lordſhip had, in his defence, impeached the lieutenant-colonel's credibility; propoſing by way of reply, to ſupport the credibility of the witneſs, when his lordſhip had ſummed up his defence; but lord George wanted to have the freſh evidence examined before he concluded his defence, that he might anſwer any thing new, that appeared; or elſe that the court would promiſe to permit him to make a rejoinder to the judge advocate's reply. Amongſt other things which his lordſhip ſaid, ------ "I find "upon my trial a queſtion of very great conſequence. I did "not care at that time to give an anſwer to it. The natural "inference is, that the court will go on, and afterwards con-"ſider of it. My reaſon for deſiring the court to go on "now is, that I am deſirous of hearing all that is to be ſaid. "As to the evidence I have given, I do not know how far "the court will admit of evidence in reply to it; and ſup-"poſe if any thing is offered by way of reply that is new, "it may be neceſſary for me to aſk for a rejoinder. I am "frightened every time I talk of law; I am told, if the "court lets the proſecutor into new matter in ſupply, it will "bring on a rejoinder, that is, to anſwer the new matter;

"if

"if that is the caſe, I ſhall have the ſame indulgence that "every priſoner has in any court of juſtice."

JUDGE ADVOCATE. In order that the reply may be properly made, I ſhould be glad to hear what lord George has to offer in his obſervations.

As to a rejoinder, it is common in civil caſes, if any new matter is introduced, the priſoner will have a right to anſwer that; I mentioned that particularly before.

I ſhould be glad his lordſhip would not talk of law, I am not a military perſon, I do not really ſee why that ſhould be thrown out, I have not the honour of wearing a military garb; but I hope I have endeavoured to conduct the proſecution with tenderneſs and candour.

As to the reply, it is agreeable to law, and practice founded on reaſon, that the proſecuter ſhould be at liberty to eſtabliſh the credit of his witneſſes, and to reply to any new matter introduced in the courſe of the defence.

If the credibility of a witneſs is to be impeached, and his credit not to be eſtabliſhed, I don't know to what purpoſe it would be to proſecute at all.

Lord G. SACKVILLE. As to the judge advocate, I wiſh, as he obſerves, he either wore a military garb, or was a perſon of ſuch eminence and reputation in the profeſſion of the law, as might entitle him to lay down the rules and practice of the courts of juſtice, in ſuch a manner, as the priſoner might have no doubt of the truth of what was aſſerted to be law. I wiſh one of the judges of England was to ſit here, the priſoner then would have been certain of being tried by the real laws of this land, and not by laws made occaſionally for him; I deſire therefore no middle term. The judge advocate is very able in his poſt; but I do not apprehend he knows the rules and practice of courts in general. Here what do you do? If there is a point of law, you refer to the judge-advocate; why, becauſe you don't know law, not becauſe he does. I know as little; I uſed the word rejoinder, I got it but the other day myſelf, and the court ſeemed to ſtart when I mentioned it. When there is a difficulty, you refer to the judge-advocate, who is to determine; other courts never determine in any matter, without the advantage of being informed of what can be offered on both ſides; this court, ignorant themſelves of mater of law, can only receive their information from the proſecutor. I have a great reſpect for mr. Gould's character as judge-advocate, and think he ſits there, and executes his office, as ably as any man I ever ſaw in his place. For the of the precedent it would make, I might ſay ſomething;

becauſe

becauſe every witneſs, whoſe character may be ſaid to be impeached in a controverted proceeding, will by this means, have an opportunity of bringing the freſh evidence of freſh facts, and the priſoner muſt ſtand a ſecond trial upon the ſame charge. As to my own part, if the court thinks fit to admit it, let them ſay that this does not affect me; let them ſay that the credit of the witneſs is impeached; by contradicting his facts; let them ſay, that ſuch is the practice of courts-martial; I ſhall lament the fate of thoſe who are to be tried by courts-martial; but with regard to myſelf, it is impoſſible for me to object to the determination. What I have proved, is the ſhewing the opinion of thoſe about me, to whom I gave orders, with whom I was during the whole day, that is a direct contradiction of the fact; it includes the time of which col. Sloper ſpeaks, the evidence now offered, is not to ſupport this fact, it relates to another time.

Indeed the judge-advocate has ſaid, it is not matter for the court, but for the publick, it is ſo. It is food for clamour, for which reaſon I wiſh to ſee the bottom of it. I ſhould not have ſtood here, a priſoner at this bar, if I had been afraid of any thing that could be ſaid, conſcious innocence is my ſupport.

Notwithſtanding all that I have ſuffered, that innocence ſtill ſupports me. I feel myſelf injured, and I know myſelf innocent. I feel myſelf before a court, that is to puniſh the guilty; but the moſt amiable part of their juriſdiction, is to protect the innocent.

I have confidence in every ſet of gentlemen, who are upon oath, to do juſtice; no gentleman can be under any influence.

In this court a priſoner has an additional ſecurity; he is ſure, their honour will bind them, if their oath did not; ſtanding under that ſecurity, I defy the proſecutor.

Let col. Sloper ſtand forth, and from a witneſs become the agent of a proſecution. Let his character be ſupported by the teſtimony of opinion; not founded upon facts, will only ſhew a readineſs to form an opinion to a man's diſadvantage.

It is not proof; it is not a foundation for a court of juſtice to determine upon; it could not be brought hence, but with another intention.

If the court will eſtabliſh the precedent, I ſubmit; but out of regard to the profeſſion I once was of, I oppoſe it.

Permit me to ſay, when I take my leave of the profeſſion, that tho' I ſhall ſubmit it to the deciſion of the court, I ſhall lament the juriſdiction.

The

The court determined that no new witneſſes ſhould be called in to prove that Lord George Sackville appeared alarmed. But that they would admit evidence to prove col. Sloper's having declared theſe facts the day after.

We ſhall conclude what we have to ſay on the ſubject of col. S------r's evidence, with obſerving, that there had been formerly a quarrel between lord George Sackville and him, which was never made up.

The priſoner, during all the trial, behaved with great conduct, and diſcovered very great abilities; he endeavoured where ever he could introduce them, to throw reflections on duke Ferdinand, implying, that he had poſted the cavalry of the right wing where it could be of no ſervice; but ſuch inſinuations were very little regarded, as the contrary was known to be the truth. As to his guilt, the court adjudged him by their ſentence unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatever. As it is not the cuſtom for land courts-martial to draw up a ſet of reſolutions by way of reaſons for their ſentence; we cannot here ſo readily determine the nature of his lordſhip's guilt. That he was guilty, is indiſputable; he moſt undoubtedly diſobeyed the orders of duke Ferdinand. His ſerene highneſs ordered him to advance thro' the trees on his left, to form a third line, and ſupport the infantry. Now it was very evident that the infantry were to be ſupported; and if that was the caſe, the time muſt conſequently be extremely critical. Could this reaſonably be thought a ſeaſon for requiring an explanation of his orders, when they ought inſtantly to have been put in execution? Had he not better have diſobeyed his orders in part, by advancing forwards, and doing his duty, inſtead of turning to the left? But the misfortune was, he never ſtirred at all. If he had advanced, it would at leaſt have ſhewn an inclination to obey. We cannot help attributing his bad conduct at that battle, to his diſguſt at the duke's command. A motive which certainly fixes a greater ſtain than cowardice could poſſibly do. His lordſhip concludes the introduction to his defence, in theſe words. "This de-
'fence is intended, not for the world, but for the information
'of the court. All I at preſent deſire is, that mankind would
'ſuſpend their judgment of my conduct, till the evidence
'is cloſed; then I truſt in the goodneſs of my cauſe, which
'has ſupported me under a load of calumny, and emboldened
'me to aſk for this trial; that under your favourable judg-
'ment, the candid, will with pleaſure acquit me, the preju-
'diced be obliged to retract their raſh cenſures, and that I
'ſhall again be reſtored to the good opinion of my country,

'and

'and of my ſovereign," And again at the end of his defence; 'he ſays: "' My witneſſes cannot ſay what they have ſaid, 'in ſupport of innocence. They may have no motive of intereſt: What motives of intereſt can there be on the ſide of 'one who is a priſoner, who has been in great employments? 'Perhaps unworthily? Employments, which had I continued 'in power, might have procured good-will, at leaſt the appearance of it. At preſent they can have no temptation 'but the force of truth; and by their appearing in that cauſe; 'and on theſe motives, they deſerve as great a degree of 'credibility, as any witneſs at any bar. In juſtice to them 'I have troubled the court thus far. I ſhall trouble them no 'longer; but expreſs my acknowledgments, not only for their 'patience in hearing me, but for the many inſtances of their 'indulgence. I can expect no better ſecurity for my cauſe, 'than their uninfluenced determination. I have mentioned 'already, that I have the ſecurity of their oath; I have a 'ſtronger ſtill, their honour: Upon that I rely. ------- If I 'am guilty, let me be declared ſo. If I am not guilty, let 'the court ſhew by their ſentence, that they will with pleaſure 'protect the innocent.'

'Tis well known what a natural averſion the late king had to ſoldiers who neglected their duty; he no ſooner confirmed the ſentence of the court-martial, than he ordered lord George Sackville's name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy-council. His Majeſty had, during the whole courſe of the trial, expreſſed himſelf very anxiouſly on ſome particulars relating to their proceedings. He had been heard to ſay, "This trial is not on "the general, but on me." It was remarked that one member of the court during the trial, aſked only leading queſtions in favour of lord George Sackville; and on the contrary, another aſked only what might make againſt him, with ſo much perſonal animoſity was the whole proceeding managed.

During this ſummer the attention of all ranks of people was taken up with the very conſiderable preparations that had been carrying on at Portſmouth, for months ſucceſſively; a large ſquadron of men of war, with tranſports ſufficient to carry 10,000 men were collected at Spithead. Troops, horſe and foot, marched from all parts of England to Portſmouth. Mortars, cannon, bombs, ammunition, and a multitude of all ſorts of warlike implements both for the field, and a ſiege, were tranſported thither. The greatneſs of theſe preparations alarmed the French, who expected another viſit on ſome part of their coaſt, when they prepared at all their ports to receive it; about the middle of November, the troops, to the amount

of about 8000 men, embarked. General Kingſley was appointed to command in chief by land, and commodore Keppel by ſea. The fleet lay wind-bound at Spithead ſome days, and before they could ſail, the commanders received counter orders, directing the troops to be diſembarked, as the expedition was laid aſide 'till the ſpring. The nation in general was greatly ſurpriſed at theſe ſudden orders; nor could any indifferent perſon pretend to mention the deſtination of the armament. Numberleſs conjectures were formed; but many circumſtances conſidered, there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that this expedition was deſigned to co-operate with that of the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, when he laid ſiege to Weſel. 'Tis probable the fleet were to land troops at the beach of Blankenburg, on the coaſt of the Auſtrian Netherlands, from which place they might have marched to the Maeſe, to join the hereditary prince, and have enabled him to proſecute the war in thoſe parts with the greater vigor. There are more reaſons than one that favour this opinion; but particularly the ſmall number of troops employed, which was too inconſiderable to make an attempt on the coaſt of France, and by a detachment of the guards being embarked, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, it was plain their deſtination was in Europe. But when it was found that the hereditary prince was prevented from executing his expedition, it might poſſibly be thought better to lay aſide the naval armament till the ſpring, and then to ſend it againſt Martinico.

In the midſt of theſe expectations an event happened which filled the nation with grief. His moſt ſacred majeſty GEORGE II. died on the 25th of October, at his palace at Kenſington, in a very ſudden manner; his death being occaſioned by the burſting of the right ventricle of his heart. He finiſhed a long and happy reign, in the midſt of a period which was diſtinguiſh'd by great events. It is needleſs to ſay, that he was a good, a brave, a juſt, and a virtuous king; his many amiable qualities adorned the throne on which he ſat ſo long, and which he left at a time ſo glorious for himſelf and his ſubjects. Theſe bleſſings endeared him to the hearts of a grateful people. His Majeſty expired at the age of 77, after a reign of thirty-four years. This event happened between the hours of ſeven and eight in the morning at Kenſington. He had roſe at his uſual time without any apparent ſigns of indiſpoſition. He called his page, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as if anxious for the arrival of the mails, which had then been detained in Holland a conſiderable time. He opened his window, and ſeeing it a fine day, ſaid he would walk in the gar-

gardens. This paſſed while the page attended him at breakfaſt; but on leaving the room he heard a deep ſigh, immediately followed by a noiſe like the falling of a billet of wood from the fire, and returning haſtily, found the king dropped down from his ſeat, as if in attempting to ring the bell, who ſaid faintly, *Call Amelia*, and then expired. He was inſtantly raiſed and laid on the bed; the princeſs was called, who upon her entering the room was told he was dead; but being a little deaf, and her ſpirits hurried by the alarm, ſhe did not underſtand what was ſaid, and ran up to the bedſide, and ſtooping tenderly over her father, as thinking he might ſpeak to her in a low voice, ſhe then firſt diſcovered he was dead; this ſhock ſo ſudden, ſo unexpected, and ſo violent, threw her into an agony. His majeſty in the fall received a ſmall hurt on his temple, and his phyſicians and ſurgeons being ſent for, came inſtantly to his aſſiſtance, but without effect. An attempt was made to bleed him, but the iſſues of life were dried up.

The cauſe of a monarch's death is always enquired into with ſuch minuteneſs, that it may be thought neceſſary to give the following account of what appeared to the ſerjeant ſurgeons upon opening the body. On opening the belly they found all the parts in a natural and healthy ſtate, except that on the ſurface of the kidney there were ſome watry bladders, which, they ſaid, could not have been at this time of any material conſequence. On opening the breaſt, they obſerved the pericardium, or bag, which contains the heart, extraordinarily diſtended, which was owing to a large effuſion of blood that had been diſcharged therein, from a rupture in the ſubſtance of the right ventricle of the heart. The quantity of the blood in the pericardium was at leaſt a pint, the moſt part of which was ſtrongly coagulated. The rupture of the ventricle, and the conſequent effuſion of blood in the pericardium, was certainly the immediate cauſe of his ſudden death. The brain, lungs, and all other parts, were in a perfect ſtate. This caſe is ſaid by the faculty to be of the moſt extraordinary kind, becauſe he was of a healthy conſtitution, unaccuſtomed to exceſs, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be ſuppoſed to flow with a dangerous impetuoſity. We will now proceed to his character.

King GEORGE was in his perſon well ſhaped and erect, but he was rather below the middle ſize. His complexion was fair, his noſe high, and his eyes large. His mein was majeſtic; and he bore age ſo extremely well, that time ſat on his countenance with a grace; perhaps not a little owing to his regular way of living, which was temperate and extremely methodical.

In his temper he was ſometimes haſty and violent; however, he was merciful, and, on numberleſs occaſions, humane; he has been cenſured as parſimonious, and this cenſure was not wholly without foundation. In the character of a ſoldier he appears with great luſtre; he loved war, ſtudied it as a ſcience, correſponded on the ſubject with ſome of the beſt officers in Germany, and, above all, was perſonally brave. To ſay he was perfectly acquainted with our conſtitution, would, in the opinion of ſome men, be paying him as diſputable a compliment, as to ſay he perfectly knew our language. However it muſt be acknowledged, he was a thorough ſtateſman with regard to the affairs of Germany. It is true, his government ſeldom deviated from the eſtabliſhed forms of law; yet it was diſtinguiſhed by a cloſe attention to the intereſts of Germany, and his mind marked by a ſtrong affection for his native country; neither was his reign leſs remarkable for German wars; in all which Great Britain was conſtantly plunged, either to trim the balance of power, or enter into treaties for the defence of the proteſtant religion. He lived to ſee the ſpirit of party extinguiſhed, though it was not until the cloſe of his reign; to enjoy the comfortable ſatisfaction of having his family firmly and immoveably ſeated on the throne; to experience the fulleſt meaſure of his peoples affection, and to ſee the ſucceſs of his arms and the power of his kingdoms raiſed to a higher pitch of conqueſt and glory, than it was once thought they could poſſibly arrive at: When all theſe events were accompliſhed, it was his earneſt deſire to ſee an end of the war, his diſpoſition being naturally pacific. He was an enemy to no religion; never endeavouring to cramp the free and full exerciſe of the powers of the human mind: Among the many ſects which divide and compoſe the people of Great Britain, his mildneſs and general toleration will command reſpect to his memory, which the followers of all opinions will not ceaſe to pay: All muſt honour him becauſe he ruled juſtly ſo long, and they will not forget that during his government they enjoyed many internal bleſſings, and if we except one momentary interruption, (the rebellion of the Scots in 1745) a perfect tranquillity.

He was ſucceeded in the imperial crown of theſe kingdoms by his grandſon, GEORGE, prince of Wales, our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign, who was immediately proclaimed with the uſual ceremony, under the title of GEORGE III. All the lords and others of the late king's privy-council were ſworn of his majeſty's privy council, who was pleaſed on the firſt day of his acceſſion, to make the following declaration to them.

" The

"The loſs that I and the nation have ſuſtained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been ſeverely felt at any time; but coming at ſo critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is, by many circumſtances, augmented; and the weight now falling upon me much encreaſed; I feel my own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh; but animated by the tendereſt affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordſhips, and on the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every honeſt man, I enter with chearfulneſs into this arduous ſituation, and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms, to preſerve and ſtrengthen both the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and as I mount the throne in the midſt of an expenſive, but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall endeavour to proſecute it in the manner moſt likely to bring on an honourable and laſting peace, in concert with my allies."

This declaration was remarkably pleaſing to all ranks of people; and the words, "This my native country," could not but be exceſſively grateful to Britiſh ears. His Majeſty began his reign in the moſt promiſing and popular manner. A proclamation was publiſhed for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and puniſhing vice, immorality, and profaneneſs. His royal highneſs, the duke of York, and the earl of Bute, who was appointed groom of the ſtole to his Majeſty, were ſworn into the privy-council the 27th; and, in a few weeks after, the earl of Huntingdon was made maſter of the horſe, the honourable George Townſhend, and the lord viſcount Royſton, were alſo made privy counſellors. Some other changes and promotions took place, but not of importance. On the 8th of November a proclamation was iſſued for proroguing the parliament to the 18th of that month, on which day his Majeſty went with the uſual ſtate, attended by the earls of Huntingdon and Bute, to the houſe of peers, and the commons being at the bar of that houſe, his Majeſty made a moſt gracious ſpeech to them, in which, after mentioning the greatneſs of the loſs the nation had lately ſuſtained, he proceeded in theſe words, "Born "and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Bri-"ton: and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt "in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty, and "warm affection to me, I conſider as the greateſt and moſt "permament ſecurity of my throne." What words could be more pleaſing to a Britiſh parliament than this declaration? The lords, in their addreſs, have this paragraph. "We

"are

" are penetrated with the condeſcending and endearing man-
" ner, in which your Majeſty has expreſſed your ſatisfaction,
" in having received your birth and education amongſt us.
" What a luſtre does it caſt on the name of Briton, when you,
" ſir, are pleaſed to eſteem it amongſt your glories?" His Majeſty's whole ſpeech was extremely affectionate and popular; and the addreſs of the lords and commons as dutiful and loyal.

The period in which his Majeſty came to the throne was ſo extremely brilliant for Great Britain, that his acceſſion promiſed a reign equally glorious to himſelf and advantageous to his ſubjects. He aſcended the throne, at a time, when his kingdoms were engaged in a truly national and fortunate war. He had the happineſs to ſee faction baniſhed from home, and his arms victorious abroad. That unparallelled unanimity which took place among all ranks of people, when the odious names of Whig and Tory ſeemed extinct, but when every one was deſirous to be diſtinguiſhed by no other title but that of Briton; then it was, that our victorious arms carried terror to the furtheſt regions of the earth, and reduced France, our conſtant, and once formidable, enemy, to the low ſtate in which we ſee her at preſent. It was reſerved for his Majeſty to become the ſovereign of theſe imperial realms, at a period, when they were dreaded and reſpected by all their neighbours; when Britiſh fleets ſailed unreſiſted to the remoteſt regions; when her armies marched only to enjoy victory; and when a ſeries of glorious events tended to exalt her power, and extend her influence and dominion, and to raiſe her ſovereign to that pitch of proſperity, which might be envied by the greateſt monarch in the univerſe.

There had been ſome propoſals towards an accommodation, at the cloſe of the foregoing year, by their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, which were not much regarded by the powers at war with them. This year they were renewed in a declaration delivered by the Auſtrian miniſter, reſiding at the Hague, to his ſerene highneſs, prince Lewis of Brunſwick, in anſwer to that which his highneſs had delivered on the part of Britain and Pruſſia. This declaration was conceived in the uſual ſpecious manner, being full of profeſſions on the part of France and her allies, to uſe their ſincere endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of Europe, tho' both ſides were then taking the field, and the advances made towards a pacification on our part had been neglected near ſix months. The king of Spain's offer of mediation is here highly extolled on the part of France, with an intimation of making, thro' his good offices, a particular treaty of peace with England. What thoſe good offices

were

were to be, was ſufficiently known, when a treaty of peace actually commenced; in the mean time all ended in formal profeſſions and interrupted none of the operations for this campaign, which was continued in Weſtphalia ſo late that ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened in the winter; for between 3 and 4000 men was attacked at Heilengenſtadt by count Broglio, at the head of ten thouſand French. General Luckner, as the town was inveſted on all ſides, had no other method of retreat, but by the road which leads to Witzenhauſen, where, having gained an advantageous eminence, he cannonaded the French with ſuch ſucceſs, that he ſecured his retreat to Scharffenſtein, without the loſs of a ſingle man or horſe killed or wounded. But an officer and thirty militia-men, who were left in the town were taken priſoners. The French are ſuppoſed to have loſt on this occaſion about 300 men. General Luckner was detached the next day, the 24th of December, to Heilengenſtadt, and finding the French had quitted it, retook poſſeſſion of it.

On the 2d of January, 1761, count Broglio, with a large body of troops, and aſſiſted likewiſe in his operations by lieutenant-general m. de Stainville, attacked the town of Duderſtadt. General Manſberg was poſted there, but found it neceſſary to quit the town, which the enemy entered. General Manſberg took poſſeſſion of the heights of Harbiſhagen, where he maintained himſelf till the arrival of the generals Kilmanſegge and Luckner, to his ſuccour, who the next day attacked the French in Duderſtadt, drove them from thence, and purſued them as far as Witzenhauſen. The loſs of the French, in this action, was, according to their own accounts, ſix hundred men; two hundred of them were made priſoners; among whom was three compleat companies of French grenadiers. The loſs of the allies, was about one hundred and ninety men.

On the 8th of January, a detachment of a hundred and fifty men, and two companies of grenadiers, under the command of the viſcount de Belſunce, marched out of Gottingen, attacked a poſt of the allies near Gibelhauſen, and made about 120 men priſoners; among whom were four officers. And, on the 27th of the ſame month, the French, under m. de St. Victor, ſurpriſed the poſt of Stadbergen. Major Delaune, who commanded the garriſon, compoſed of part of Lane's battalion, was killed in his chamber. A ſhort time after, the chevalier de Origny made a battalion of the Britannic legion priſoners at Wolfshagen, where he took one piece of cannon and a magazine. About this time the French royal legion made 300 priſoners at Alsfelt, who had been left there for their recovery.

very. A battalion of Hanoverians, that blocked up the caſtle of Arolſen, was, for the moſt part, taken or deſtroyed. The next day colonel Colignon abandoned Nordheim to the garriſon at Gottingen, and in his retreat loſt 220 men, with two pieces of cannon.

We ſhall cloſe the account of this years tranſactions with the opening of his preſent Majeſty's *firſt parliament*, and ſome of the capital tranſactions there, which we ſhall dwell on with ſome pleaſure, as that demon diſſention had not yet divided national councils.

The KING's *FIRST SPEECH in Parliament.*

" *My lords and gentlemen,*

" THE juſt concern which I have felt in my own breaſt, on the ſudden death of the late king, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt, but you muſt all have been deeply affected with ſo ſevere a loſs. The preſent critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loſs the more ſenſible, as he was the great ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of theſe kingdoms can be preſerved, and gave life to meaſures, conducive to thoſe important ends.

I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances. My conſolation is in the uprightneſs of my intentions, your faithful and united aſſiſtance, and the bleſſing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me, I conſider as the greateſt and moſt permament ſecurity of my throne; and I doubt not, but their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will equal the firmneſs of my invariable reſolution to adhere to, and ſtrengthen, this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown: And, as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

I reflect,

I reflect, with pleaſure, on the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms have been proſpered this laſt ſummer. The total reduction of the vaſt province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the moſt intereſting conſequence, and muſt be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conqueſt glorious to us; the more glorious, becauſe effected almoſt without effuſion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

Our advantages gained in the Eaſt Indies have been ſignal; and muſt greatly diminiſh the ſtrength and trade of France in thoſe parts, as well as procure the moſt ſolid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my ſubjects.

In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wiſe and able conduct of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, has not only ſtopt their progreſs, but has gained advantages over them, notwithſtanding their boaſted ſuperiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

My good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, although ſurrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perſeverance almoſt beyond example, not only withſtood their various attacks, but has obtained very conſiderable victories over them.

Of theſe events I ſhall ſay no more at this time, becauſe the nature of the war in thoſe parts has kept the campaign there ſtill depending.

As my navy is the principle article of our naval ſtrength, it gives me much ſatisfaction to receive it in ſuch good condition; whilſt the fleet of France is weakened to ſuch a degree, that the ſmall remains of it have continued to be blocked up by my ſhips in their own ports; at the ſame time the French trade is reduced to the loweſt ebb; and with joy of heart I ſee the commerce of my kingdoms, that great ſource of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flouriſhing to an extent unknown in any former war.

The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at ſea and land, have been diſtinguiſhed ſo much to the glory of this nation, that I ſhould be wanting in juſtice to them, if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I ſhall conſtantly encourage and reward; and I take this occaſion to declare, that the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion to the throne of my anceſtors: Happy, in viewing the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I have been, had I found my kingdoms,

whoſe true intereſt I have entirely at heart, in full peace: But ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous deſigns of my enemies, rendered the war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous overture, made laſt winter, towards a congreſs for a pacification, has not yet produced any ſuitable return, I am determined, with your chearful and powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigour, in order to that deſirable object, a ſafe and honourable peace. For this purpoſe, it is abſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

THE greateſt uneaſineſs which I feel at this time, is in conſidering the uncommon burthens, neceſſarily brought upon my faithful ſubjects. I deſire only ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices; and that they may be provided for in the moſt ſure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what ſhall be granted. I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and alſo an account of the extraordinary expences, which from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged, at ſuch a time, to mention any thing which perſonally regards myſelf. But, as the grant of the greateſt part of the civil liſt revenues is now determined, I truſt in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper proviſion for ſupporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be aſſured of a regular and becoming œconomy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your reſolutions the proteſtant intereſt hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preſervation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final diſappointment of their ambitious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour, unanimity, and diſpatch of our proceedings.

In this expectation I am the more encouraged, by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of diviſions, and

that

that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh of my heart, are to cement and promote them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great people."

The people were tranſported with loyalty and affection upon hearing this ſpeech, and the idea of ſuch a patriot king, who gloried in being a Briton, made them rend the air with acclamations. The Houſe of Commons in their addreſs re-echoed every paragraph in triumph to the throne, with the following addreſs.

ADDRESS of the HOUSE of COMMONS.

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, approach your royal preſence, to expreſs the deepeſt ſenſe of the great and ſevere loſs, which your majeſty, and theſe kingdoms, have ſuſtained by the death of your majeſty's royal grandfather, our late moſt excellent ſovereign; the memory of whoſe juſt and proſperous reign will be held in reverence by lateſt poſterity.

We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty on your happy acceſſion to the throne, the only conſideration that can alleviate our grief for ſuch a loſs. The knowledge of your majeſty's royal virtues, wiſdom, and firmneſs, opens to your faithful ſubjects the faireſt proſpect for their future happineſs at home, and for the continuance of that weight and influence of your majeſty's crown abroad, ſo eſſentially neceſſary, in this arduous and critical conjuncture, for the preſervation of that ſyſtem, upon which the liberties of Europe depend.

We return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; and acknowledge, with the livelieſt ſentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, thoſe moſt affecting and animating words of our moſt gracious ſovereign. That, Born and Educated in this country, he glories in the name of Briton. And we offer to your majeſty the full tribute of our hearts, for the warm expreſſions of your truly royal and tender affection towards your people. We venerate, and confide in, thoſe ſacred aſſurances of your majeſty's firm and invariable reſolution to adhere to, and ſtrenghten, this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate; to maintain the

toleration inviolate; and to protect your faithful ſubjects in that greateſt of human bleſſings, the ſecure enjoyment of their religious and civil rights.

Permit us to congratulate your majeſty on the various ſucceſſes, which, under the protection of GOD, have attended the Britiſh arms, during the laſt ſummer; particularly in the reduction of Montreal, and the entire province of Canada; a conqueſt equally important and glorious, atchieved with intrepidity, and cloſed with humanity, the genuine attributes of that Britiſh ſpirit, which, under the benign auſpices of your majeſty, will, we truſt, continue, by the divine aſſiſtance, to give additional luſtre to the arms of Great Britain.

This valuable and extenſive acquiſition, joined to the ſignal advantages gained in the Eaſt Indies; the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce; the reſpectable condition of your majeſty's navy, by which the remains of the enemy's fleet continue blocked up in their harbours, whilſt their trade is almoſt annihilated; are conſiderations which fill our hearts with the moſt pleaſing hopes, that your majeſty will be thereby enabled to proſecute this juſt and neceſſary war, to that great and deſirable object of eſtabliſhing, in conjunction with your allies, a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace.

We ſee, with the greateſt pleaſure, that the progreſs of the French armies in Germany, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of numbers, has been ſtopt, and, to the honour of your majeſty's arms, their attempts hitherto baffled, by the wiſe and able conduct of his ſerene highneſs prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick.

When we conſider the ſtupendous efforts, made, in every campaign, by your majeſty's great ally, the king of Pruſſia, the defeat of the Auſtrians in Sileſia, and that recent and glorious victory obtained over the army commanded by marſhal Daun, we cannot ſufficiently admire the invincible conſtancy of mind, and inexhauſtible reſources of genius, diſplayed by that magnanimous monarch, to whom the moſt dangerous and difficult ſituations have only adminiſtred freſh occaſions for glory.

Our moſt dutiful acknowledgments are due to your majeſty for the mention which you have ſo graciouſly made of the diſtinguiſhed valour and intrepidity of your officers and forces at ſea and land, and for the declaration of your majeſty's conſtant reſolution to encourage and reward ſuch merit; and we return our moſt humble thanks to your majeſty for your favourable acceptance of the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture.

We

We aſſure your majeſty, that your faithful Commons, thoroughly ſenſible of this important criſis, and deſirous, with the divine aſſiſtance, to render your majeſty's reign ſucceſsful and glorious in war, happy and honourable in peace, the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate ſovereign, will concur in ſuch meaſures as ſhall be requiſite for the vigorous and effectual proſecution of the war; and that we will chearfully and ſpeedily grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary for that purpoſe, and for the ſupport of the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of your majeſty's allies: Firmly relying on your majeſty's wiſdom, goodneſs, and juſtice, that they will be applied in ſuch a manner as will moſt effectually anſwer the ends for which they are granted, and with the utmoſt œconomy that the nature of ſuch great and extenſive operations will allow; and that we will make ſuch an adequate proviſion for your majeſty's civil government as may be ſufficient to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming luſtre.

Your Majeſty's faithful Commons approach your royal perſon with hearts penetrated by the warmeſt and livelieſt ſenſe of your unbounded tenderneſs and concern for the welfare of your people; and rejoicing at the high ſatisfaction your Majeſty takes in the union which ſo univerſally prevails throughout your kingdoms: A deep ſenſe of that national ſtrength and proſperity viſibly derived from this ſalutary ſource, and, above all, your majeſty's approbation of that happy union, and the natural diſpoſition and wiſh of your royal heart to cement and promote it; are the ſtrongeſt incentives to concord, and the ſureſt pledge of it's duration. The fixt reſolution, which your majeſty has declared, to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue, will, we doubt not, prove the beſt means of drawing down the favour of GOD upon a dutiful and united nation; and we ſhall never ceaſe devoutly to offer up our ardent vows to the Divine Providence, that, as a recompence for theſe royal virtues, your majeſty may reign in the hearts of a free and happy people; and that they, excited by your majeſty's benevolent care to diſcharge your royal function, and animated by gratitude for the enjoyment of ſo many bleſſings, may make the due return, by a conſtant obedience to your laws, and by the moſt ſteady attachment and loyalty to your perſon and government."

The Commons agreed to a Second Addreſs of Thanks for the gracious manner in which the Firſt was received by his Majeſty, and took this reſolution before the uſual buſineſs at the beginning of every ſeſſion came on, proceeding to take the

ſpeech

Speech from the throne into immediate conſideration. They next went upon the matter of his Majeſty's revenue, and granted for the ſupport of his houſhold and dignity of the crown, during life, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds yearly, to commence from the death of his late Majeſty. They added to this revenue ſeveral yearly ſums which were payable to his grandfather during life. Seventy thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year, and ſixty-five thouſaud land forces. The money granted for ſupporting theſe and other contingent expences for the ſervice of 1761, with the foreign ſubſidies, and one million extraordinary for expences incurred or to be incurred, ſwelled the ſupplies to nineteen millions, ſix hundred, and ſixteen thouſand pounds, and upwards.

(1761.)

THE acceſſion of a new ſovereign to the throne of Great Britain is uſually diſtinguiſhed by acts of grace in favour of impriſoned debtors and ſtate criminals. Accordingly petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons from debtors confined in the goals both of the capital and other parts of the kingdom, giving melancholly accounts of their miſerable condition and ſoliciting relief. The crown priſoners were overlooked; but the cries of ſuch a number of debtors occaſioned a bill to be brought into the houſe of commons in their favour, which ſoon after paſſed into a law. There was a clauſe in it which was intended for the benefit of the creditors, importing, that whereas many perſons chooſe rather to continue in priſon, and ſpend their ſubſtance there, than honeſty to deliver up their effects for the uſe of their creditors; the creditor may in ſuch caſes compel any priſoner committed, or hereafter to be committed, into cuſtody for debt, to appear at the quarter ſeſſions with a copy of his or her detainer, and deliver in upon oath a juſt account of their effects; that a priſoner, on ſubſcribing this account and diſcovering his or her effects, ſhall be diſcharged by this act; but on refuſal to give an account, or concealing to the value of twenty pounds, the perſon ſhould ſuffer as a felon.

This is that much-abuſed compulſive clauſe, which by the aſſiſtance of low chicanery was made to operate ſo contrary to the original intention of the act. Great numbers of people, in the middle and lower claſſes of life, and ſome who had been in higher ſtations, laid hold of the opportunity to cancel debts, which

which they would have been enabled to diſcharge, if indulged with liberty, they had been induſtrious and frugal for the future. But on the contrary, the perſons intending to reap benefit from this clauſe, prevailed on ſome relation or friend to arreſt them, and perform the part of a compelling creditor. The priſons were ſoon crouded with ſucceſſive numbers of wretches, without remorſe, laying hold of this indulgence to cheat their creditors, who appeared with the utmoſt effrontery at the quarter ſeſſions to give in and ſubſcribe colluſive accounts of their effects, and get themſelves *white-waſhed*, as it was vulgarly termed. To ſuch villainous uſes may a good law be proſtituted; hence appears the neceſſity of frequently amending or repealing acts of the legiſlaetur; and this was ſo remarkable a one we could not let it paſs unnoticed.

The ſituation of the French, at the beginning of the campaign this year, was extremely advantageous for them; and conſequently very bad for the allied army. The former enjoyed the entire poſſeſſion of the territory of Heſſe; they had alſo added to the ſtrength of ſeveral places in it, by ſome new works, and had amaſſed very great magazines in ſuch parts as were moſt convenient for them. They had, on their left, driven the allies from the Rhine, whoſe quarters they ſtreightened, and prevented all efforts on that ſide, by the great number of troops that they kept there. Gottingen, on their right, was alſo in their poſſeſſion, in which they had taken care to have a very ſtrong garriſon. Thus were the allies alſo ſhut up in this quarter; and his majeſty's German territories entirely expoſed to the deſigns of the enemy.

The greater theſe difficulties were with reſpect to the allies, the more neceſſary it was to attempt a removal of them; prince Ferdinand, therefore, determined to march and attack the French poſts. But this ſeemed to be a very hazardous attempt; for, beſides the advantages of the enemy, already mentioned, they were maſters of all the proper communications neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, with ſtrong places in their rear, and in both their flanks. But prince Ferdinand, being determined to act with vigour, ſettled the places of rendezvous, one on the Dymel, another on the Rhine, and a third in Sauerland. He himſelf, the ſame day, February 9th, went to Gieſmar, where lieutenant-general Gilſac had marched, with the corps, according to his orders. The next day the troops halted, and the diſpoſitions for the march of the whole were communicated to the generals. On the 11th, the army marched off in four columns; his ſerene highneſs led the center; it penetrated directly into Heſſe, and marching by Zierenberg,

berg, and Durenberg, made its way towards Caſſel. Tho' the right and left of the army were each at a conſiderable diſtance from this body, yet they were ſo diſpoſed, as fully to co-operate in the general plan of this very extenſive operation. The hereditary prince, who commanded on the right, marched by Stadbergen, for Mengeringhauſen; and, left the country of Heſſe to the eaſtward. As the alarm was to be as ſudden, and as widely diffuſed as poſſible, he puſhed forward with the utmoſt expedition into the heart of the French quarters. At a greater diſtance to the left, general Sporken, with his corps, penetrated into Thuringia, by Daderſtadt, and Heiligenſtadt. This movement was deſigned to break the communication of the French with the army of the empire, to procure a communication with the Pruſſians, and to cut off all intercourſe between the enemy's grand army and their garriſon at Gottingen. The French, by this ſudden, extenſive, and vigorous attack, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and fled on every ſide.

The vanguards or piquets, of the four columns, being rejoined and augmented with ſome cavalry, the brave marquis of Granby was appointed to command that corps, and fixed it at Ehlen, from whence he ſent detachments to the caſcade and to Weiſſenſtein. The hereditary prince cantoned his corps about Zuſchen. Receiving advice that the garriſon of Fritzlar was not prepared for an attack, he went thither with a few battalions, in hopes of being able to carry that place at once. He attacked it with great ſpirit; but the enemy defended it reſolutely, taking all the advantages their ſituation afforded them. And now the prince found that he had been miſinformed; he therefore thought it adviſable to deſiſt from the attempt, and to wait for the arrival of ſome cannon to reduce it. The army cantoned on the 13th, in the neighbourhood of Niedenſtein. The marquis of Granby led his corps to Kirchberg and Metze. Lieutenant-general Gilſac remained in his former poſition. The hereditary prince cantoned his troops about Hademar, not far from Fritzlar. Lieutenant-general Breidenbach took poſſeſſion of a magazine of forty thouſand rations at Roſenthal, and advanced towards Marpurg. He made an attempt upon that town; but, as the enemy were upon their guard, it did not ſucceed; and the general himſelf was killed in the attack. General Okeim ſucceeded to the command. However theſe two ſevere checks at the beginning of their enterprize did not intimidate them; they were only more cautious and more expeditious.

The

The army halted on the 14th; when the hereditary prince detached major-general Zaſtrow to Feltzberg, and ordered the cavalry to paſs the Eder. Cannon and mortars being now brought before Fritzlar, and ſome bombs thrown into the town, colonel de Narbonne offered to capitulate, if honourable terms were allowed him. He was anſwered, that, in conſideration of his brave defence, ſuch ſhould be granted him; but the garriſon ſhould not ſerve during the preſent campaign, and that the battalions of Waldeck and Wildungen ſhould be included in the capitulation. But the commandant refuſing to ſubmit to this condition, a briſk cannonade was begun again, and continued for half an hour, after which the terms were accepted, and the place ſurrendered; but the commandant having declared he had no command over the two garriſons abovementioned, that demand was dropped. A magazine was found at Fritzlar.

At this time the allies had driven the French every-where before them, for the ſpace of about forty miles, leaving Gottingen, Caſſel, Waldeck, and ſome places of leſs note behind them; being perſuaded, that when the main army was driven back, thoſe garriſons would fall of courſe. With this view, the allies reſumed their march, on February the 17th, covering from their right to left, a country, of more than ſeventy miles in extent, and driving all before them; where-ever they approached, the enemy fled, ſetting fire to their magazines, and abandoning their proviſions, inſomuch that the allies found plenty for their ſubſiſtence in every town thorough which they had occaſion to paſs. At Melſungan, a poſt about fifteen miles from Caſſel, prince Ferdinand found a conſiderable magazine of meal and forage.

At Over-Weimer, near Marbourg, the enemy made a ſhew of ſtanding their ground; but m. d'Oheim, on the 18th, put himſelf in motion, and having defeated their advanced guard, m. de Mopeau, who commanded their main body, gave way, and the allies having halted a day or two, to refreſh their troops, continued their purſuit. In the night between the 19th and 20th, m. Broglio abandoned Hirſchfeldt, after ſetting fire to the grand magazine that had been eſtabliſhed there for the aſſiſtance of the troops. This magazine, which had conſiſted of eighty thouſand ſacks of meal, fifty thouſand ſacks of oats, and a million of rations of hay, was moſt of it ſaved by the allies, who entered the town almoſt as ſoon as it was quitted by the French.

In the mean time, the marquis of Granby was ſucceſsfully employed in reducing the caſtles and fortreſſes in the neighbourhood,

bourhood, particularly Guderſberg, in which was a garriſon of two hundred men. Here he found ſome proviſions and forage.

The allied army reſolutely advanced, and the French continually retired; and abandoning poſt after poſt, fell back almoſt to the Mayne. In their retreat, they ſet fire to their own magazines; but the allies purſued them with ſo much rapidity, that they ſaved five capital ſtores; one of which contained no leſs than eight thouſand ſacks of meal, fifty thouſand ſacks of oats, and a million of rations of hay; a very ſmall part of which had been deſtroyed. This proved a very great help to the allied army in its progreſs; but Caſſel ſtill remained to be reduced. In this town the French had a garriſon of ſeventeen battalions, beſides ſome other corps, commanded by count Broglio; the enemy not only confided in theſe, but alſo in the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. The ſiege of this place was of too much importance to be delayed; as ſoon therefore as marſhal Broglio had been driven out of Heſſe, and had retreated towards Franckfort, prince Ferdinand made a ſtop. As Marpurg and Ziegenhayn ſtill held out, the prince ordered them to be blockaded. He then formed that part of his army which was with him into a chain of cantonments. His front was towards the enemy, ſtretching from the river Lahn to the river Ohm, and from the latter to the Fulda. By this means, he was enabled, not only to watch the motions of marſhal Broglio's army, but alſo to cover the ſiege of Caſſel; and the two blockades of Marpurg and Ziegenhayn.

The trenches were opened before Caſſel the 1ſt of March, under the direction of the count of Lippe Schaumberg, a ſovereign prince of the empire, and a very great engineer; from whoſe ſucceſsful management of the artillery at Thornhauſen, much was now expected. On the 7th, the French made a ſally, took poſſeſſion of the trenches, carried off four mortars, nailed up one piece of cannon, and deſtroyed the works of the grand battery; but at length they were forced back into the town. They afterwards made two unſucceſsful ſallies, ſuffering conſiderably in both. The garriſon of Gottingen alſo made a motion, and attacking Duderſtadt, where the allies had a poſt, forced it, and made the garriſon priſoners. The garriſon of Waldeck alſo made a ſucceſsful attack on a party of the allies that were patrolling in the neighbourhood of that city; for captain Willenius, who commanded the party, having the misfortune to be dangerouſly wounded in the firſt onſet, the advantage was on the ſide of the enemy, who

who took thirty horſes and two waggons belonging to the convoy.

Major-general Schluter, in order to ſtraiten the fortreſs of Ziegenhayn, formed the deſign, on the third inſtant, of getting poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs. Though he ſucceeded with very little loſs, yet m. de Zuementel, who commanded in the town, regardleſs of the houſes, fired againſt them with great fury, and obliged the general to retire, with his troops, into his old quarters.

Whilſt theſe matters were carrying on, m. Sporken, who commanded the detachment of the allied army to the left, advanced, with an intrepidity equal to the reſt, on the ſide of Saxony. He was ſoon joined by a body of Pruſſians, and the united army loſt no time to clear the Werra and the Unſtrut, of the bodies of French and Saxons, which occupied the moſt important poſt upon theſe rivers. As the enemy was advantageouſly poſted, and could be ſupported on one ſide by the garriſon of Gottingen, and on the other, as they promiſed themſelves, by the army of the empire, they maintained their ground, and a ſharp action ſoon enſued. The allies attacked a large body, February 14, advantageouſly poſted, at Langenſaltze, upon the Unſtrut, with great ſucceſs. The Pruſſians took three whole battalions of Saxons, and ſeven pieces of cannon. General Sporken took two battalions and ſix pieces of cannon. The whole loſs of the enemy was computed at five thouſand; but that of Sporken's at little more than one hundred.

The following day they continued purſuing the enemy, driving them every-where before them, killing many, and making many priſoners. The army of the empire, which was in the neighbourhood of Gotha when general Sporken attacked the enemy at Langenſaltze, made a precipitate retreat; at Eyſenach a very large magazine was found; general Luckner, on the 24th, took three hundred priſoners at Fulda and the neighbouring villages, in moſt of which the enemy left their forage behind them. Sporken had divided his corps into two columns, one commanded by count Kielmanſegge, and the other by lieutenant general Wagenheim; major Luckner commanded the advanced guard. Kielmanſegge's corps preſſed forward with ſuch rapidity, that he ſoon came in ſight of a body of troops, commanded by marſhal Broglio in perſon; but being too weak, did not attack it. General Luckner having ſtill made greater haſte, poſſeſſed himſelf of Aſſchaffenbourg, and, on the next night, March the 7th, threw a bridge over the Mayne, at Selligenſtadt. Hitherto almoſt every thing had ſucceeded, according to the wiſhes of the allies; but things now began to take a different turn.

At the ſame time that this diviſion was purſuing the enemy to the left, the prince, and the marquis of Granby, were moving with greater caution in the center. The forts and caſtles that were not tenable, were deſerted one after another. Marſhal Broglio, with the main body, continued his march, with the utmoſt precipitation, till he arrived at Bergen, within a few miles of Franckfort. Here the marſhal began to fortify himſelf, and here he made a ſtand till the reinforcements arrived from the Lower Rhine, to enable him to make head againſt the allies, and either to give them battle, or recover the ground he had loſt.

On the 20th of March, the ſeveral diviſions of the allied army joined. The main body had it's poſition on the heights of Homberg; the head-quarters were at Schwanſberg; the marquis of Granby at Kirchayn; general Hardenberg behind Redechen; and the hereditary prince formed the van, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg, almoſt in ſight of the enemy. Marſhal Broglio, at the ſame time, occupied the country along the Rhine, from Gladenbach to Allendorf.

The reinforcement that the marſhal received from the Lower Rhine, conſiſted of 12,000 French troops. This at once put a ſtop to the career of the allies, and enabled marſhal Broglio, not only to make a ſtand, but to advance and drive, in his turn, his purſuers before him. Prince Ferdinand had now three ſtrong poſts of the enemy in his rear, and their grand army perfectly united on his front; he was therefore obliged to call in Sporken's body. The Prince contracted his operations, and cauſed a field of battle to be marked out, near Homberg, to which the troops were ordered to repair on the firſt notice. But the want of ſubſiſtence, in a place already exhauſted both by friends and foes, would admit of no delay, and it became abſolutely neceſſary either to march forwards to meet the enemy, or to fall back, and relinquiſh all the advantages which had been acquired, by a deſperate, and well-concerted enterprize. A retreat was determined on; in which the hereditary prince, who covered the rear, was attacked by a ſuperior number of the enemy, near the village of Strongerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg, and the corps under his command broken and diſperſed. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the firſt ſhock of which broke the whole foot, conſiſting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers. The French in this action made three thouſand priſoners, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral trophies of victory. However, few were killed or wounded on either ſide. Prince Ferdinand himſelf owed his eſcape to the intrepid behaviour

behaviour of two of his officers. The ſieges of Caſſel, Gottingen, and Ziegenhayn, that had been ſucceſsfully begun, were now raiſed. Town after town was relinquiſhed, many were killed, many made priſoners, and not a few periſhed thro' want and fatigue.

In the city of Marbourg, when the allies quitted it, a pound of bread was not to be purchaſed for money. In this diſgraceful manner were the allies expelled Heſſe, and forced to take refuge in Weſtphalia, where the want of magazines, and the natural poverty of the country, would not permit the French to purſue them. Thus the two armies being ſeparated, both found it neceſſary to go into winter quarters of cantonment, as well to refreſh the troops, as to procure ſubſiſtence. The places adjacent to the two armies, were filled with the ſick and wounded; of whom many more died than recovered, for want of proper accommodations. Upwards of 2000 horſes died in the allied army in a fortnight; the enemy's army alſo ſhared in the ſame misfortunes.

However, the French having loſt ſo many magazines were unable, for a long time, to reap any advantage from their ſucceſſes in the preceding campaign, or from their late victory. The greateſt part of the month of June elapſed, before they found themſelves in a condition to act.

However, in the mean time, a few ſkirmiſhes happened. Towards the latter end of April, a detachment of three thouſand men, from the garriſon of Gottingen, attacked a battalion of the Britiſh legion, in the village of Feldhaven, near Uſlar, and made one hundred priſoners; but were afterwards diſlodged from that poſt by the Hanoverians. The firſt week in May, general Luckner, with an hundred huſſars, came up with three hundred horſe of the garriſon of Gottingen, entirely routed them, made one officer and thirty troopers priſoners, and took ſixty horſes. The ſame day, May the 5th, captain Brinſky attacked them on their return, with 100 huſſars, and fifty Brunſwick cavalry, drove them before him into Gottingen, and made three officers and fifty-three dragoons priſoners. The vicomte de Belſunce, their commander, narrowly eſcaped being taken in the purſuit. The village of Spielen, beyond the Fulda, was taken by captain Riedeſel, with an hundred of the Brunſwick huſſars, and the garriſon, conſiſting of fifty men, were killed, or made priſoners. In this action the allies ſuſtained very little loſs. In the ſame month, one hundred horſe of the allied army took, near Nordheim, a French lieutenant-colonel, thirty-four dragoons, and forty horſe; m. de Belſunce himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken pri-

priſoner. In the middle of June, general Luckner took eighty-four oxen under the walls of Gottingen, forced the garriſon back, killed and wounded an hundred men, and took priſoners fourteen private men, and one captain. The next day, m. Sheiter croſſed the Rhine, with only thirty-ſix horſe; and, in the ſpace of ninety-three hours, ſet fire to the French magazines at Xanten, and other places, and plundered a great quantity of baggage. The magazines which he deſtroyed, amounted to one million, ſix hundred thirty-five thouſand rations of hay and ſtraw, near ſix thouſand ſacks, and ſeveral thouſand rations of oats. About the ſame time, the French took two hundred and forty-five priſoners at Luhnen and Kamen, and two pieces of cannon.

But now ſome more conſiderable actions began to take place; as the French had taken proper meaſures for their ſubſiſtence, the prince of Soubiſe cauſed his troops to paſs the Rhine, and to advance on the ſide of Munſter; not far from which city, the hereditary prince of Brunſwick was poſted to oppoſe him. Marſhal Broglio aſſembled the forces under his command, at Caſſel, and moved towards the Dymel, in order to effect a junction with the body under the prince of Soubiſe. General Sporken, who was with a ſtrong detachment, advantageouſly poſted on the Dymel, in front of the allied army, on the approach of marſhal Broglio, quitted his ſituation, and attempted to retire, being inferior to the enemy in number. But the French, who were too quick for him, overtook and attacked his rear, June the 19th. The general was ſoon routed; the enemy made eight hundred priſoners, took nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horſes, and above an hundred and ſeventy waggons. The French paſſed the Dymel the ſame day. Prince Ferdinand being diſcouraged by this misfortune, fell back to the Lippe; and thus gave the enemy an opportunity to poſſeſs themſelves of Warburg, Dringleburg, and Paderborn.

About a fortnight after, a body of French troops, under the command of m. Chabot, intending to ſurpriſe m. de Luckner, near Samle, was attacked and defeated by that general; when one hundred and fifty men were made priſoners, and two hundred horſes taken. The day after, captains Kampen and Engel, captain-lieutenant Sanders and lieutenant Muller, with two hundred and twenty horſe, in different detachments, burnt upwards of thirty carriages of bacon and proviſions, deſtroyed, or gave away, a prodigious quantity of bread and meal, took ſeven hundred horſes and ruined two thouſand more, and, in their return to the allied army, made two hundred and fifty men of the enemy's troops priſoners.

Prince

Prince Ferdinand continued ſome time poſted to the ſouth of the Lippe, between Ham and Lipſtadt, that he might get between the prince of Soubiſe, and the Rhine, as marſhal Broglio had, by occupying the places on the Dymel, got between him and Hanover. His view in this was, or at leaſt ſeems to have been, that, in caſe the marſhal made any attempt upon the electorate, he might fall upon the places the enemy occupied upon the Dymel, and ſo draw them back to their protection. At length, marſhal Broglio, with a view to fall upon the allied army, made a junction with Soubiſe, at Soeſt, a place between Lipſtadt and Ham. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, in order to ſtrengthen his ſituation, eſtabliſhed his left wing on the iſthmus between the rivers of the Lippe and the Aeſt; the left extremity of this wing, under general Wutgenau, by which it was perfectly ſecured, as the right was ſupported by the village of Kirch-Denkern, ſituated immediately on the Aeſt. In this wing the marquis of Granby commanded, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Howard, and the prince of Anhalt, who were poſted towards the village. Behind the little river was placed the center, on a conſiderable eminence, commanded by general Conway. On the ſame eminence, the right wing, under the hereditary prince, extended towards the village of Werle, well defended on the flank by rugged, buſhy, and almoſt impaſſable ground. The greateſt part of the artillery was placed in the left wing, by the direction of the count of Lippe, as was alſo the ſtrength and flower of the army, as being moſt-expoſed to the attack of the enemy; an event which prince Ferdinand wiſely foreſaw; and which happened as follows:

"Marſhal Broglio decamped on the 15th of July, at break of day, from Erwite, and attacked lord Granby's camp in the evening, with great briſkneſs. His lordſhip ſuſtained the efforts of the enemy with reſolution and ſucceſs, till the arrival of lieutenant-general Wurgenau, who had received orders to march to his ſupport. The French being now taken in flank, they could no longer withſtand the firmneſs of theſe generals, with whom prince Ferdinand was in perſon, but were driven back into the woods, after a fire of artillery and ſmall arms, which laſted till late in the night. The action was renewed at three the next morning, and continued till nine. M. Wurtgenau's corps, againſt which the French made redoubled attacks, maintained its ground with intrepidity. At laſt m. Broglio appeared to have a deſign of planting ſome batteries upon an eminence oppoſite to lord Granby's camp, which

which was not encloſed within the lines. To prevent the bad conſequence of ſuch a deſign, prince Ferdinand ordered the neareſt troops to advance upon the enemy, which they did with ſuch courage, that the French ſoon gave way, and retreated precipitately, abandoning their dead and wounded. Maxwell's battalion of grenadiers took the regiment of Rouge, conſiſting of four battalions, priſoners, with their colours. Upon the news of this defeat on the right, the left of the French army, under the prince de Soubiſe, which was oppoſite to the hereditary prince, deſiſted from the attack. Two hundred men, commanded by major Limburg, defended the village of Scheidengen, on that ſide, againſt all the attacks of the enemy."

The loſs of the French in killed, wounded, and priſoners, was computed at about five thouſand men; five pieces of cannon, and ſix pair of colours were taken. The brigades of the king, Auvergne, Belſunce and Naſſau, ſuffered the moſt. The duke of Havre, and his ſon-in-law, the marquis of Cirrac; the marquis of Rouge, lieutenant-general, and his ſon, the colonel, were killed. Their loſs, in officers, was very conſiderable. The place of battle was the field of Kirch-Denckern, near Hiltrup, and at no great diſtance from Ham. The allies had three hundred and eleven men killed, one thouſand and eleven wounded, one hundred and ninety-two made priſoners, and three pieces of cannon taken. They kept their ground after this battle, whilſt the French retreated, and both parties remained quiet for ſome time, except in ſome ſkirmiſhes, which proved in favour of the allies.

A great convoy of proviſions was deſtroyed by colonel Freytag, between Caſſel and Warbourg. The Brunſwick huſſars ruined two French magazines upon the Werra, and major-general Luckner, in his retreat from Neuhaus near Paderborn, the day after the battle of Kirch-Denckern, had a ſmart engagement with the enemy, and took one hundred and fifty men priſoners. Colonel Freytag, in a ſecond expedition, July 19 and 20, deſtroyed a great quantity of ammunition and corn belonging to the French, on the Fulda and the Werra, without the loſs of a man. And on the laſt day of July but one, general Luckner attacked marſhal Broglio's rear-guard, at Lipſprinck, and deſtroyed the corps of volontaires de Broglio. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, July the 20th, young prince Henry of Brunſwick was mortally wounded. In the beginning of Auguſt, prince Ferdinand attacked lieutenant-general Stainville, who had between ſixteen and eighteen battalions, and as many ſquadrons under his command, and obliged him, after a warm diſpute of three or four hours, to

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abandon the poſt of Stadtbergen. The day after, a detachment of hunters belonging to colonel Freytag's corps, attacked, and took, a convoy of two hundred and fifty waggons, going towards the Weſer.

About the middle of Auguſt, general Luckner, having reached the heights near Daſſel, with his corps, ordered his own regiment towards the right wing of the French, and colonel Freytag, with all the light horſe, towards their left. The enemy under the command of m. Belſunce, drew back their forces towards the foreſt of Solling, having firſt detached a large body of horſe and foot to the high road that leads to Eimbeck. Luckner's huſſars immediately attacked and totally routed this body. General Luckner himſelf, in front, attacked the French, whilſt they were drawn up in order of battle; upon which they quickly retired, and advanced nearer to the foreſt of Solling. Colonel Freytag obliged their light horſe to diſperſe themſelves in the foreſt; whither they were preſently followed by general Luckner. In the Solling they met with a warm reception from lieutenant-colonel de Stockhauſen, who had previouſly poſted himſelf there, with his hunters, and defeated them. In their retreat thither, they were ſucceſsfully harraſſed by the Brunſwick huſſars, who had purſued them. In theſe different attacks, the French loſt three pair of colours, had eight hundred of their horſes taken; beſides forty-four officers, and ſeven hundred and fifty-nine private men, taken priſoners by the allies.

However, all the advantage was not on the ſide of the allies; for on the 18th of Auguſt, the caſtle of Waldeck ſurrendered to the French. And on the ſame day, the marquis de Conflans attacked the rear-guard of a detachment of the allied army, in it's march from Munſter to the lower Embs, and made ſome priſoners, took the tents belonging to Scheiter's cavalry, and thirty baggage-waggons.

Prince Soubiſe ſtill perſiſted in the deſign he had formed to beſiege Munſter, notwithſtanding the obſtacles he had met with. He therefore began to make the previous preparations at Dorſten. Upon this, the hereditary prince laid hold of the firſt opportunity to attack that place. This was accordingly done on the 30th of Auguſt, when the garriſon, conſiſting of a battalion of French troops, and ſome piquets, commanded by m. Vierſet, made a brave defence, but they were obliged by the reſolute attacks of the allies, to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Prince totally deſtroyed the ovens which were eſtabliſhed there. By this means, the enemy were not only prevented from their deſign on Munſter, but even forced to retire from the Lippe

for a time. The day after the French attacked the corps under the generals Luckner and Freytag, and colonel Stockhauſen, and obliged them to abandon ſeveral poſts in the defiles of the Hartz mountain.

The allies did not long retain their poſſeſſion of Dorſten, for, on the 3d of September, four days after they had taken it, the vanguard of the prince of Soubiſe retook that place, made one hundred and eighty of the troops priſoners, and took one piece of cannon. On the 14th of the ſame month, a body of the French, conſiſting of eight or nine thouſand, under the command of the marquis de Conflans, appeared unexpectedly before Embden, and, the burghers refuſing to join in defending the place, the garriſon conſiſting of two hundred Engliſh invalids, made an honourable capitulation for themſelves, and embarked immediately for Bremen. The French, being now maſters of the town, extorted contributions by every act of violence, inſomuch that the country roſe upon them, and drove them off; but in a few days they returned, and with greater fury than ever, plundered the inhabitants of every thing they could carry off; and what they could not remove, they broke and deſtroyed: Such were the miſeries of war in that quarter!

On the 24th of the ſame month, a body of French appeared ſuddenly before Wolfenbuttle, having ſummoned the city, and received a refuſal, they began to bombard the place, which ſo terrified the inhabitants, that many of them retired to Zell. In a few days after, Brunſwick was formally inveſted by a body of the enemy. Oſnabrug being unable to ſatisfy their exorbitant demands, was given up to be pillaged. The next month, the ſtrong caſtle of Scharsfels, in the Hartz mountains, ſurrendered to the French, after a ſiege of eight days, who demoliſhed its fortifications. Mippen capitulated to the prince of Conde, in which five hundred of the allies were made priſoners of war. Wolfenbuttle alſo ſurrendered to prince Xavier, of Saxony, after a ſiege of five days, who, after levying exorbitant contributions, quitted it, and returned to Seeſen.

The French having thrown up intrenchments at the paſs of Oelpher, for covering the ſiege of Brunſwick, prince Ferdinand, with all the expedition in his power, diſpatched the hereditary prince to its relief. General Luckner, having joined this prince by forced marches, arrived juſt in time, and attacked the French in the intrenchments, October 13, and in the end obliged prince Xavier, not only to raiſe the ſiege of Brunſwick, but alſo to abandon Wolfenbuttle. Many of the enemy were killed; and one major-general, ſeveral officers, upwards of two hundred private men, and one piece of cannon, were taken.

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The allies were under no little concern for Bremen, as it had but a weak garriſon, and was a place of great conſequence to the enemy; for there were in it immenſe magazines, and it was advantageouſly ſituated on the Weſer; ſo that if the French had got poſſeſſion of that trading town, they would have had the command of the Weſer, and have ſhut up the allies in a barren country, in the very center of Germany, deprived of every reſource, and environed by their enemies. The French, encouraged by the ſucceſs they had met with at Embden, through the timidity of the inhabitants, made an attempt upon it, but met with a very different reception from what they had found at Embden; for the inhabitants alarmed at their cruel behaviour in Embden, joined the garriſon, and the enemy were forced to make a haſty retreat. But to prevent a ſecond attack, a ſtrong reinforcement was immediately thrown into Bremen.

Prince Ferdinand, the beginning of November, ſtill kept the ſame poſition, at Ohr, upon the left of the Weſer, the ſame that he had taken poſſeſſion of after the battle of Kirch-Denckern, which he prudently and reſolutely kept, in ſpight of the various motions, ſtratagems, and endeavours of the enemy, to force the poſt. His head quarters were at Buhne, and his army reached from thence towards Hammelen. By this ſituation, he kept poſſeſſion of the courſe of the Weſer, and thereby prevented the enemy from taking either Hammelen, or Minden.

Marſhal Broglio's poſition upon the right of the Weſer, was as follows; the Hartz was occupied by two thouſand men; lieutenant-general Stainville was encamped at Seeſen, with ſixteen battalions; prince Xavier at Ganderſkeim, with nineteen battalions; m. Broglio with eight battalions, at Eimbeck, which made the center; and general Chabot, with fifteen battalions, at Eſckerſhauſen. The reſt of the infantry, with the cavalry, cantoned in the village behind the above camps. General Rochembeau was left at Caſſel, with eight battalions, and the Iriſh brigade upon the Eder, in order to ſecure the communication with Heſſe and Franconia.

As the French army was thus diſperſed, prince Ferdinand formed a very judicious but unſucceſsful plan, to prevent their collecting in a body; he purpoſed to ſurprize the count Chabot and his fifteen battalions, ordering general Luckner to march, ſo as to oppoſe m. Stainville's corps at Seeſen, by the 5th of November, that he might intimidate him from marching, or, in caſe he did, purſue him. The hereditary prince's directions were to march on the 3d, in order to get

poſſeſſion of the heights of Eimbeck, by the 5th. The brave marquis of Granby, who had alſo a ſhare in this expedition, was directed to force the poſt of Cappelnhagen, and get to Wickenſen by the 5th, that he might block up the defile, which leads from Eſckerſhauſen to Eimbeck. The Marquis bravely entered upon his appointment, and, after a ſmart engagement, forced the poſt the enemy held at Cappelnhagen, and arrived, even at the hour appointed, on the 5th, at Wickenſen. Theſe ſeveral bodies had been, for ſome time, upon the right of the Weſer; thoſe upon the left croſſed the river; prince Ferdinand, with the main body, paſſed it on the 4th; as did lieutenant-general Conway, and general Scheele, on the ſame day. On the morning of the 5th they all joined at Halle. The method the Prince propoſed to carry his deſign into execution, was to cut off the body of troops, under the command of the count de Chabot, encamped at Eſckerſhauſen; with this view, he, on the 5th, continued his march. The Count, apprehenſive of the Prince's deſign, quitted his camp, and moved towards Wickenſen, that he might reach Eimbeck, and join marſhal Broglio. But, as he was endeavouring to effect this junction, he met to his ſurprize the marquis of Granby, with his corps. He had now no other way of eſcape, but by turning to the right toward Stad-Odendorp; with this view he fell back upon the road to Eſckerſhauſen. However, had the whole plan of prince Ferdinand been happily executed, he would have been interrupted in his march, and muſt have been entirely routed; for lieutenant-general Hardenberg was to have paſſed the Weſer, on the 4th at night, at Bodenwerder, in order to have reached Amelunxborn in the morning of the 5th; but unhappily, as he was on the way to Eſckerſhauſen, the pontoons, on which he was to have paſſed the river, overturned, and delayed him. In the interim the count de Chabot eſcaped to Eimbeck, by the way of Daſſel, and getting there at noon, took his poſt upon the Huve. By this accident, the hereditary prince was alſo diſappointed in his deſign upon Eimbeck; for he arrived oppoſite the Huve at two o'clock; and at four in the afternoon was joined by the marquis of Granby, and lieutenant-general Conway; a briſk cannonading was begun, which continued till night. But as circumſtances were now changed, and the French marſhal had time to collect a great number of troops, the hereditary prince thought it was not adviſeable to attempt the paſſage of the Huve.

The ſame day at night, prince Ferdinand encamped at Eſckerhauſen, where he was joined by general Hardenberg. The

next day there happened ſome ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, with different ſucceſs. On the 7th, prince Ferdinand ordered the marquis of Granby to march from Weutzen to Foorwohle, and the hereditary prince to Ammenſen. Marſhal Broglio, conſidering this as a retreat, purſued the hereditary prince; but without attempting to attack him. The Marquis was likewiſe purſued by count Broglio, who attacked him, juſt as he was on the point of encamping, after a fatiguing march through ſnow and difficult roads, at Foorwohle, and drove in his out-poſts. The noble marquis, not only made a brave reſiſtance, but repulſed the enemy, and even drove them back to the Huve.

Prince Ferdinand judging it impracticable to attack the enemy in their preſent poſition, reſolved to attempt getting round their left flank, that he might oblige them either to attack him, or abandon Eimbeck, and the country about it. Having therefore taken his meaſures on the 7th, and 8th, he, at three in the morning of the 9th, marched to the heights between Mackenſen and Lithorſt. The hereditary prince marched to replace lord Granby at Foorwohle; and general Luckner to occupy the hereditary prince's camp at Ammenſen. But in the morning, before he could march to follow the army, lord Granby was again attacked upon his left; that generous and brave nobleman received the enemy with ſo much ſpirit and conduct, that he again repulſed them, and made them retreat with a conſiderable loſs. In this action, major Fraſer greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

The French marſhal finding, by his detachments, which were driven off the heights of Lithorſt, that prince Ferdinand had gained his flank, and was partly in his rear, having it at his choice either to riſk an action, or retire, choſe the latter. He accordingly quitted Eimbeck the 9th, in the night, and all the adjacent country. Before the marſhal quitted theſe parts, he ordered the gates of Eimbeck, and the additional works to be blown up, by which general Werner was killed; and the marſhal himſelf was very near being deſtroyed. Nothing further of any conſequence happened between the two oppoſite armies for ſome time, the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances neceſſarily obliging both parties to remain inactive.

We ſhall now look back to the king of Pruſſia's operations in the courſe of this year. After the great victory that his majeſty obtained at Torgau, a ſucceſſion of important and intereſting events might have been expected, but the campaign of 1761, was not diſtinguiſhed by any deciſive event, and it was

was even thought that the caution of marſhal Daun had been adopted by his Pruſſian majeſty.

The king lay ſtrongly intrenched in Upper Sileſia, near Schweidnitz; the fortreſſes in the lower part of the country were well ſecured with garriſons. Prince Henry, who commanded in Saxony, was divided into two ſtrong bodies; that led by count Tottleben marched towards Pomerania; Butterlin, who commanded the other, entered into the Upper Sileſia, advancing towards Breſlau. On the oppoſite part to them, baron Laudohn entered the ſame province. Theſe armies intended to unite, either to attack the king, or to take Breſlau, or Schweidnitz. The whole country was overſpread by the Ruſſians, who every-where raiſed heavy contributions; this was their poſition in the ſummer.

So early as January, count Tottleben entered Pomerania, with ten thouſand Ruſſians, and made himſelf maſter of Stetin and Burwalde. On the 2d of March, the Imperialiſts, to the amount of ſix battalions, and eight hundred horſe, having, on the approach of the left wing of the allied army, changed their poſition, were followed by a body of the Pruſſians, under general Sybourg, and another corps, commanded by general Schenkendorf, who attacked them near Saalfeld. The Pruſſians planted their batteries to ſo much advantage, that the enemy, being attacked on all ſides, were ſoon routed and diſperſed. Many of them were killed in the purſuit, and eight hundred priſoners taken, among whom were one major, and nine other officers; beſides four pair of colours, and a great quantity of baggage. Here Zeithen's huſſars, under major Hundt, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. As ſoon as the king of Pruſſia received the news of this ſucceſs, he ordered the two generals abovementioned to march immediately with their troops, each having ten thouſand men, to the aſſiſtance of the allies, who, at this time, had been obliged to poſt themſelves behind the Dymel.

Marſhal Daun had not as yet taken the field; but was now preparing for it with all diligence. In the mean time, the Pruſſians were ſucceſſively filing off regiments towards Luſatia; having not leſs than one hundred between Meiſſen and Leipſick; and twenty-five thouſand between Fribourgh and Thuringen; yet they were ſo cautious as to intrench themſelves near Meiſſen and Fribourgh; and not only repaired the old, but alſo erected new works. In the following month, being April, a body of Imperialiſts, under general Guaſco, near Plaven in the Voigtland, were attacked by a detachment of Pruſſians, who defeated them, and took priſoners, one colonel, eight officers, and one hundred and fifty men, beſides four pieces

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of cannon, and all their baggage. But in this ſucceſsful action, the Pruſſians had the mortification to loſe the brave major Hundt, of Zeithen's huſſars, one lieutenant, and thirty private men. In the courſe of the ſame month, the Pruſſians had their line that they had formed near Milbitz, forced, an hundred of the men killed, and forty made priſoners, by Reid, an Auſtrian general. But the next month, the Auſtrians ſuffered in their turn, for colonel Kleiſt advancing towards Fribourgh, the Auſtrians abandoned it, and the colonel took eighty-four men, and one hundred horſes. The ſame colonel, a few days after, attacked a poſt of general Guaſco's troops at Schellenberg, and made three officers, and one hundred and eighteen men priſoners. This month, the king of Pruſſia took an Auſtrian magazine of meal, at Bautzen. Towards the end of the ſame month, a body of Pruſſians, on the Queiſs, near Greiſienberg, were attacked by general Beck, and ſix hundred men were killed and wounded, and as many made priſoners, beſides the loſs of four pieces of cannon. About a month after, the Pruſſian flying camp near Schweidnitz, was ſurprized by two thouſand Auſtrians, who took priſoners two hundred men, beſides three hundred horſe, and ſome other booty. About this time, an army of Ruſſians, under general Tottleben, marched into Pomerania, and made a furious, but unſucceſsful, attack upon Belgrade. In the mean time ſome Ruſſian detachments appeared upon the frontiers of the New-Marche, and occupied Landſberg, upon the Wartha; but theſe detachments being too weak, they were obliged to abandon their new acquiſitions, and the country being totally ruined before, and affording but little plunder, they changed their rout, and marched to join their main body.

The Swedes, about this time, who had done little more this war than plunder the country they had occupied, began to renew their incurſions. This obliged the few Pruſſian troops, who were appointed to oppoſe them, and reſtrain the Mecklenburgers, to fortify themſelves in the beſt manner they could, to prevent a ſurpriſe; and to defend the poor inhabitants from further violences.

About the beginning of July, general Zeithen reconnoitred the Ruſſian army, ſkirmiſhed with an advanced poſt, killed two hundred men, and afterwards made good his retreat to his camp, at Storkneſt, in Poland. A little after, marſhal Butterlin, having detached ſome regiments of huſſars from his head-quarters, at Priſtame, with a deſign to cut off the retreat of colonel Loſſow, who had been reconnoitring the Ruſſians, the latter fell upon them by ſurprize, killed twenty men, took

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two officers, fourteen ſubalterns, two ſurgeons, and one hundred and ſix private men priſoners, beſides an hundred horſes; and diſperſed the remainder of the troops. Two days after, colonel Belling, and lieutenant colonel Goltz, gained ſome advantage over the Swedes. The next day the Swedes took Demmin, and made a hundred of Hordt's battalion priſoners of war. The Pruſſian lieutenant-colonel Goltz loſt one hundred men at Malchin; and at Domgarten, a lieutenant and twenty Pruſſian huſſars were taken priſoners. The next day his Pruſſian majeſty made a forced march, and attacked general Brentano's cavalry, near Munſterberg, taking poſſeſſion of the camp which that General had the very ſame day marked out for the Auſtrians, under general Laudohn, and took one hundred and fifty-four priſoners.

On the 21ſt of July, general Laudohn, having received a reinforcement, began his march, in order to join the Ruſſians, who had advanced ſo near Breſlau, as to be within one day's march of it; but his Pruſſian majeſty took ſuch meaſures, as prevented their junction at this time; however, they effected this on the 25th of Auguſt following, thus. On the 1ſt of Auguſt, a detachment of Ruſſians, with a large train of artillery, began to cannonade Breſlau from ſeven batteries. But the governor Fauenzbin, marching out with ſeven battalions, under his command fell furiouſly upon the beſiegers, and forced them to retire; but in their retreat they ſet fire to two villages. In order to be well prepared for another ſuch viſit, the fortifications of Breſlau were put into a thorough repair, the place well garriſoned, and further covered with Knoblauche's troops.

Laudohn finding it impoſſible to execute his plan in the Upper Sileſia, where his Pruſſian majeſty, at this time, commanded, ſuddenly decamped, and, thinking to divide the Pruſſian forces, marched to the Lower Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia, on the 3d of Auguſt, paſſed the Neiſſe, drove part of the Auſtrian army, as far as Hoff, in Moravia, and made one hundred priſoners.

General Laudohn, at this time, made uſe of every ſtratagem to draw his Pruſſian majeſty from his poſt, and to bring him to a diſadvantageous action. At one time he ſeemed determined to join the Auſtrians; at another, to make an attempt upon Schweidnitz; but neither of theſe ſucceeding, he made as if he propoſed to fall upon the Lower Sileſia, and therefore made a movement, as mentioned above, in hopes that, at leaſt, he might induce the king to divide his forces; but his majeſty ſtill kept his reſolution to continue in the ſame ſituation.

ſituation. In the interim, the other grand diviſion of the Ruſſians marched unoppoſed, into Pomerania. As Tottleben, who was ſuſpected, and even ſaid to have been convicted, of having carried on a ſecret correſpondence with his Pruſſian majeſty, was now removed, and general Romanzow appointed to command in his ſtead; it was expected their operations would be vigorous.

The Czarina conſidering the ſiege of Colberg, as an object of the greateſt importance, had ſent a fleet of ſhips to convey artillery, ammunition and ſtores, and tranſports to carry forces; but ſome of them periſhed in the paſſage by bad weather; the reſt were landed at Rugenwalde, and employed againſt the fortifications of Colberg. This ſtrong town is the key to his Pruſſian majeſty's dominions on the ſide of New March. And now it was blockaded by a fleet of forty ſail, of all kinds; whilſt the army of general Romanzow formed the ſiege by land. On the 19th of Auguſt, this General took poſſeſſion of the town of Coſlin, in Pomerania, near Colberg. A few days before, as thirty ſquadrons of Auſtrian cavalry, and ten battalions of grenadiers, were on their march to join the Ruſſians at Finkenſtein and Czelteritz, ſome Pruſſian regiments attacked them, took a great number of them priſoners, and ſo diſperſed them, that only ten ſquadrons eſcaped to the place of their deſtination. General Knoblock took two regiments of Ruſſian infantry priſoners, much about the ſame time.

As to Colberg, the king of Pruſſia was under ſuch great apprehenſions about it, that, though Laudohn and Butterlin found ſufficient employment for his forces, he reſolved to ſend general Platen, with a conſiderable body of troops, to the aſſiſtance of Colberg. General Platen had a further commiſſion; this was to paſs through Poland, and, if poſſible, deſtroy ſome magazines which the Ruſſians had erected there; and by which their army in Sileſia was wholly ſupported. The General ſo far ſucceeded, as to take three principal magazines; he alſo attacked and deſtroyed a large convoy of the enemy's waggons, deſtroyed five hundred, and burnt or deſtroyed the proviſions they carried; though the convoy was guarded by five thouſand men, the greater part of whom were either taken priſoners, or killed. The General afterwards haſtened his march to Pomerania.

It was at this time that the Ruſſians and Auſtrians effected their junction, which had been for ſome time retarded by the king of Pruſſia, as already related. But this excurſion obliged them to ſeparate again, and deſiſt from their intentions upon Breſlau, to repaſs the Oder, near Sleinau, on the 9th of September, and

make what haſte they could into Poland, to ſave their remaining magazines; that they might not be totally deprived of their ſubſiſtence. Butterlin, who commanded that body, propoſed to follow the next day; nor indeed had the junction of the Auſtrians and Ruſſians during it's continuance, proved of any ſervice to them; for the king ſtill maintained his camp at Buntzelwiltz, between Striegau and Wurben, and made head againſt all the force of the enemy, in ſuch a manner, that they did not dare to attack him, or form any new enterprize.

Skirmiſhes ſtill fell out between the two parties. In the middle of September, general Platen deſtroyed ſeveral large magazines at Colbin and Goſtin, and attacking five thouſand waggons, at a convent near the latter place, defeated the convoy, conſiſting of four thouſand men, killed a great number of them, and took two thouſand priſoners, including brigadier-general Czerapow, three majors, and twenty inferior officers; beſides taking five haubitzers, and two pieces of cannon. A few days after, general Romanzow attacked a redoubt which covered one of the flanks of the prince of Wurtemberg's camp, and carried it. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he made a ſecond attack on the Prince's intrenchments; but was repulſed with the loſs of near three thouſand men, and of the redoubt he had taken the day before. The ſame month a body of Ruſſians defeated general Werner, and took him priſoner, whilſt he was endeavouring to rally the regiment of Wurtemberg, that had been thrown into diſorder during the engagement. General Romanzow made another attempt upon the Pruſſian intrenchments before Colberg, but unſucceſsfully.

The king of Pruſſia, on the retreat of Butterlin, thought he had greater freedom to act, and being in want of proviſions in his camp, near Schwiednitz, ventured to draw near the Oder, that he might be the more eaſily ſupplied. He pitched his head quarters at Streihlin, fortified his camp in the plain of Canth, to preſerve his communication with Breſlau. He even ventured to draw four thouſand men from the garriſon of Schweidnitz. He thought, if the enemy ſhould attempt to lay ſiege to the place, that the time the preparations for it would take up, would be ſufficient for him to provide againſt it; being at ſo little diſtance. But general Laudohn, the Auſtrian general, who had all along carefully watched for a favourable opportunity to ſtrike ſome important blow, immediately determined to take the opportunity of the king's abſence, and attempt the reduction of the ſtrong town of Schwiednitz, by a ſudden effort.

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Accordingly on the 1ſt of October, Laudohn began the aſſault at three in the morning. The Auſtrian troops obſerved ſo much precaution in their approach, that the garriſon was not aware of them, till they ſcaled the four out-works, all at one time. This was executed with ſo much rapidity, that the beſieged had hardly time to fire a few cannon. The aſſailants did not fire a gun; but in one of the out-works, the fire of the ſmall-arms accidentally ſet fire to a powder magazine, which blew up, and deſtroyed three hundred Auſtrians, and as many Pruſſians. The out-works being carried, the Auſtrians prepared to aſſault the body of the place. They burſt open the gates, and, after firing a few ſhot, got poſſeſſion of the town. Lieutenant-general Zaſtrow, governor of the fortreſs, with three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one men, were made priſoners of war. One hundred and eighty-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, and a large magazine of meal. The Auſtrians loſt, on this occaſion, two hundred and ſeventy-nine men killed; beſides one thouſand and ſeven wounded, and one hundred and forty miſſing. The Ruſſians who were concerned in the affair, had fifty-one men killed and forty-five wounded. Their grenadiers behaved remarkably well.

This was a heavy blow to the king of Pruſſia, of which he ſeemed to be extremely ſenſible. He foreſaw the ſeveral hurtful conſequences of it; that the Auſtrians would now winter in Sileſia; and that, without leaving Breſlau, and the whole of Upper Sileſia, in the moſt imminent danger, he could make no motion in favour of any other part of his dominions. He was, at firſt, confounded at the news of this capital loſs; but, recovering himſelf, ſaid, with an air of pleaſantry, "It is a fatal blow; we muſt endeavour to remedy it." He alſo ſeemed to entertain ſome doubts as to the governor, general Zaſtrow; but, at the ſame time, could not help reflecting that he had hitherto thoroughly approved himſelf as a faithful ſervant. However, he wrote to him in theſe terms. "We may now ſay, what Francis I. of France wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia; *We have loſt all, except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath happened to you, I ſhall ſuſpend my judgment; the thing is very extraordinary."

After this affair, nothing very material happened for ſome time. The King continued his head quarters at Streihlin, and general Laudohn encamped at Freyberg. Both parties even thought they might ſafely ſend out detachments; the King ſent twenty thouſand to prince Henry in Saxony, and general

Laudohn ſent as many to marſhal Daun. The Swediſh and Ruſſian fleets were, by the badneſs of the weather, driven from before Colberg, and the Ruſſian general Romanzow left to continue the ſiege wholly by land. During the abſence of theſe fleets, Colberg happily received, by ſea, a freſh ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, which enabled the garriſon to make that vigorous and obſtinate defence which they afterwards did. But they were not ſo ſucceſsful by land; for as a convoy of upwards of one thouſand waggons, laden with ſtores, and guarded by a large body of troops, was making its way from Stetin to Colberg, it was attacked by the Ruſſians, near Golnow, and forced to retire back to Dam, and two companies of general Platen's corps were ſurprized and taken; the General himſelf was obliged to retreat to Stargard. The next day, the Ruſſian light troops having blown up eighty-five waggons loaded with bombs and gun-powder, and deſtroyed an hundred more filled with proviſions and other ſtores, afterwards got poſſeſſion of the town of Golnow, and burnt the ſuburbs; in this town they found forty thouſand bombs and balls.

On the 21ſt of October, and the two preceding days, the Ruſſians made ſeveral furious attacks upon Colberg, and likewiſe upon the prince of Wurtemberg's intrenchments; but to very little purpoſe. The main army of the Ruſſians making a movement towards Treptow, the Pruſſian general Knoblock threw himſelf into that place. But the Ruſſians detached from Colberg, lieutenant-general Romanzow, who attacked and took the town, and general Knoblock, with three battalions and a body of cavalry, four thouſand in all, were made priſoners of war, with the loſs of ſix Pruſſian colours and ten pieces of cannon. A few days after the Ruſſians diſlodged the Pruſſians from Stepnitz. Colonel Combiere, who commanded the van-guard of general Platen's troops, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men, had penetrated as far as Golnow; but at the village of Banglow he was ſurprized by the Ruſſian general Berg, who took him priſoner, with thirty-ſix officers and one thouſand men, beſides taking ſix pieces of cannon. Four days after Berg made an attack upon general Platen himſelf, between Stargand and Pyritz; but now was defeated in his turn, with the loſs of five hundred men killed and wounded.

The King of Pruſſia, at the beginning of the campaign, had detached prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, with twelve thouſand men to cover Colberg. This prince cauſed very ſtrong intrenchments to be made by general Thadden, an able engineer, which ſurrounded the town from the Baltic ſea to the

the river Perſante, and from thence to the other ſide. In theſe intrenchments the prince of Wurtemberg maintained his ground againſt the united force of the Ruſſian and Swediſh fleets, and a body of twenty-five thouſand Ruſſians, commanded by general Romanzow, which, during all the time, blocked up the town. The different aſſaults made from time to time by that General were always repelled with loſs. At the latter end of September, general Platen, with ten thouſand men from the King of Pruſſia arrived to the relief of Colberg. The prince of Wurtemberg beginning to want proviſions Platen marched towards Stetin, in queſt of the convoys which were ready at that place; but in his return back thither, was attacked by a large body of Ruſſians, as already related, and obliged to retire to Stargard.

Thus the prince of Wurtemberg was left alone to cover Colberg, and tho' reduced to great ſtraits, rejected with diſdain the capitulation which was offered him on the 2d of November, by general Romanzow.

The advantages the Ruſſians had gained over the generals Platen and Knoblock greatly animated their troops. Field-marſhal count Butterlin quitted his quarters at the village of Sturgorth, near Colberg, on the 2d of November, and marched with the main body of his army towards Schiefelbien, and general Fermor towards Noremberg and Templebourg, having firſt ſent a reinforcement to general Romanzow, who continued before Colberg. As to the prince of Wurtemberg, he, after revictualling Colberg, and reinforcing the garriſon, being fearful leſt his army, which had been unable to relieve the town, by continuing longer under its walls, ſhould only ſhare in its approaching unhappy fate, reſolved, while his men were in their vigour, to make his way thro' a part of the Ruſſian army, and leave Colberg to make the beſt terms it could. He accordingly forced his way and got to Grieffenberg, where he was joined by general Platen's troops, and marched immediately to the neighbourhood of Regenwalde, in order to annoy general Romanzow's rear, cut off his ſubſiſtence, and force him to raiſe the ſiege; but herein he was diſappointed.

The ſiege of Colberg had now continued near ſix months, during which time it had been bravely defended by Heyde, the governor; but now its impending fate approached, and being ſtraitened on all ſides, it was likely to ſurrender without a blow. But this event was rather the conſequence of famine, than of the valour of the aſſailants. The month before, general Romanzow took the fort of Munde, at the entrance of the river Perſante, and thereby cut off all communication

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by water between Stetin and Colberg. On the firſt of this month a plan was laid for ſeizing the king of Pruſſia in the ſuburbs of Strehlin. "A Sileſian gentleman, named Wargotſch, who had an eſtate near Streihlin, came often to the Pruſſian camp, where he was well received by the king of Pruſſia, and by his officers. He informed himſelf, with great exactneſs, of every thing that paſſed in the army; and particularly of the diſpoſitions made of the troops in their quarters of cantonment; and, as the country thereabouts was well known to him, he formed a project of ſurpriſing his Pruſſian majeſty, in the night of the 18th of December, which was to have been executed in this manner. A ſmall body of reſolute cavalry were to penetrate, in the night, into the ſuburbs of Streihlin, where his Pruſſian majeſty lodged, to which they were immediately to ſet fire; and, during the confuſion that this muſt neceſſarily occaſion, to endeavour to ſeize and carry off the king of Pruſſia; which Wargotſch thought was very practicable, as the quarters were, at that time, but ſlightly guarded.

The whole affair is reported to have been accidentally diſcovered by one of Wargotſch's own ſervants, who had often been employed to carry letters to a popiſh prieſt, in a neighbouring village. Theſe letters were directed to an Auſtrian lieutenant-colonel, and the prieſt had the care of tranſmitting them. The ſervant obſerving, when his maſter gave him the laſt letter, he was uncommonly anxious about the ſafe delivery of it, and appeared to be in great agitation of mind, began to ſuſpect that he was employed in a dangerous ſervice; however, he took the letter, and promiſed to deliver it as uſual; but, inſtead of that, carried it directly to Streihlin, where he put it into the hands of m. de Crucemark, the adjutant general; he immediately ſent out two ſmall parties of dragoons, to ſeize Wargotſch and the prieſt, who were both made priſoners, but eſcaped afterwards."

In the beginning of December, the Ruſſians took Minden, which covered Colberg towards the ſea. The conſequence of this loſs was, that the entry of any Pruſſian veſſel with proviſions into Colberg, was now extremely dangerous and uncertain. Prince Wurtemberg indeed made an attempt to relieve the garriſon, and to throw in ſtores and proviſions; but failed in the enterprize.

On the 13th of December, general Romanzow attempted to take Colberg by ſtorm, but failed. And now the town being reduced to the laſt extremity, the garriſon exhauſted, proviſions low, the fortifications in many places battered to

pieces,

pieces, the army that defended it, driven back, on which they depended as their laſt reſource, no hope of ſupply left by ſea, or land, and no poſſibility of diſlodging the enemy; colonel Heyde, the governor, ſent out articles of capitulation to the Ruſſians, on the 17th of December, which were immediately accepted. The brave garriſon, conſiſting of ſeventy nine officers, and three thouſand private men, were made priſoners of war. In the arſenal were found one hundred and forty-nine pieces of cannon; forty pair of colours, and four ſtandards were taken. Colonel Heyde acquired great hounour by his ſpirited defence of the fortreſs, during a ſiege which laſted upwards of five months. According to the Ruſſian account, general Romanzow made three thouſand priſoners in the courſe of the campaign, excluſive of five thouſand deſerters; tho' not without the loſs of many of his own men during the time of the ſiege.

The Ruſſians, in conſequence of the reduction of this important place, got poſſeſſion of the New Marche, part of Pomerania, and of all Pruſſia. In ſhort, poſſeſſing Colberg, they poſſeſſed every thing. They were maſters of the Baltic, and had now a poſt by which their armies could be well provided. The road lay almoſt open to Brandenburg; Stetin alone ſtood in their way. The Ruſſians immediately began to repair the fortifications of Colberg; eighteen thouſand of their troops occupied Stargard, and the right of the Oder, to the neighbourhood of Stetin, and for the firſt time, they wintered in Pomerania.

After the reduction of Colberg, the Pruſſian general Platen took the route of Berlin, in his way to join prince Henry in Saxony; and the prince of Wurtemberg filed off to the dutchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin. Prince Henry eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Hoff; as did the prince of Wurtemberg at Roſtock; thoſe of colonel Belling were at Gaſtrow; and all parties now took up their winter quarters; where for the preſent we ſhall leave them.

Nothing of moment was done this year where the war might be truly called Engliſh; in fact, the French had neither a fleet nor ſettlements left worth our notice; and the noble ardour of our ſeamen was in danger of cooling, by vaſt preparations which were formidable enough, but wanted an object; while the weakneſs of ſome, and the ambition of others, began to indicate that the old leaven of parties was again fermenting. However ſome Captains of our Cruizers diſtinguiſhed themſelves on their ſtations.

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The beginning of this year opened with two actions of this kind. Capt. Hunt, in his Majeſty's ſhip the Unicorn, of twenty-eight guns, and two hundred men, being cruizing off the Penmarks, diſcovered at eight o'clock in the morning, of January 6, a ſail to the northward, to which he gave chace; and found it to be the Veſtal, a French frigate, commanded by m. Boiſbertelot, mounting twenty-ſix twelve and nine pounders upon her quarter-deck and fore-caſtle, with two hundred and twenty men. At half an hour paſt ten the Unicorn came up with, and began to engage her, and continued in cloſe action two hours, when the enemy ſtruck. Capt. Hunt, and the French captain, were both mortally wounded; Capt. Hunt received a gun-ſhot wound in his right thigh, when lieutenant Symons took the command, and fought the enemy with great courage and conduct during the remainder of the engagement; for which he was rewarded with the command of the Mortar ſloop. The Unicorn, notwithſtanding the length and ſharpneſs of the engagement, had only five men killed, ſix dangerouſly, and four ſlightly, wounded; but the Veſtal had many more killed and wounded. Two days after, Capt. James Smith, of the Seahorſe, only twenty guns, and one hundred and ſixty men, engaged at the diſtance of thirty-four leagues S. W. from the Start, the Opale, a French frigate, of thirty-ſix guns, and three hundred and ſixty men, commanded by the marquis d' Ars; when after a warm engagement of an hour and a quarter, in which the ſhips were board and board three different times, the enemy ſeeing the Unicorn coming up, left the Seahorſe and made all the haſte ſhe could from her. The Opale had her captain killed, and one hundred and fifty of her men killed or wounded. Eleven only of the Seahorſe were killed, and thirty-eight wounded, but many of them very dangerouſly, Capt. Smith was afterwards detained at home, that his bravery might be rewarded with the command of a larger ſhip. In the courſe of the ſame month, the 23d at day-light, Captain Alexander Hood, in the Minerva, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, ſaw, and gave chace to, a large ſhip, which afterwards proved to be the Warwick, formerly belonging to us. She had thirty-four guns, but pierced for ſixty, having on board two hundred and ninety-five men, ſeventy-four of whom were king's troops, with two other officers, and four paſſengers, that were bound to the iſle of France and Bourbon, with proviſions, ammunition, and ſtores. At twenty minutes after ten in the morning, with a briſk eaſterly wind or gale, and a great ſea, Capt. Hood began a cloſe engagement with her.

At eleven her main and fore-top-maſt went away; and ſoon after ſhe came cloſe to the ſtarboard-bow of the Minerva, and then fell along ſide; but the ſea ſoon made a ſeparation, when the enemy fell a-ſtern. About a quarter after eleven the Minerva's bowſprit went away. Theſe unfortunate accidents made capt. Hood almoſt deſpair of being able to attack the enemy again. However, determined to do his utmoſt, he ordered the entangled bowſprit to be cut away as ſoon as poſſible; and about one o'clock cleared the ſhip of it by the loſs of one man, and the ſheet anchor. He then brought round the ſhip, and ſtood for the enemy, who was then about three leagues to the leeward of him. At four o'clock he came up cloſe to the enemy, and renewed the attack. About a quarter before five ſhe ſtruck, and the captain immediately got poſſeſſion of her. The enemy had fourteen killed, and thirty-two wounded. On board the Minerva, the boatſwain and thirteen other men were killed; and the gunner and thirty-three wounded; the latter and two ſeamen died on the 27th following.

Captain Nightingale, in the Vengeance, of twenty-eight guns, nine and four pounders, on the 23d of March, took two prizes; one named the Entreprenant, pierced for forty-four, but carrying only twenty-ſix guns, twelve and ſix pounders, with two hundred and three men, being equipt for war and merchandize, and loaded with various goods for St. Domingo. The other a ſmall privateer, four carriage and four ſwivel guns, with forty-five men. Capt. Nightingale fell in with them off the Lizard on the 23d; and at five in the afternoon began the attack, which laſted for three quarters of an hour; during which time the Vengeance was five times on fire; twice, as was ſuppoſed, from the enemy's wads ſetting fire to the main rigging. The Vengeance's rigging and ſails, by theſe accidents, being ſo much ſhattered, the enemy run his bowſprit over her, and offered for boarding, but was prevented; and the Vengeance ſheered off to repair her rigging and ſails. As ſoon as the ſhip was in condition, Capt. Nightingale got up again cloſe to the enemy, and the engagement was renewed for an hour, when the Frenchman ſheered off, and bore away. The Vengeance, being a ſecond time diſabled in her maſts and rigging, was ſome time in wearing. But at length ſhe came round, and getting again within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy, renewed the engagement, which continued for an hour and a half, when the enemy called for quarter. There were fifteen men killed, and twenty-four wounded, on board the Entreprenant. The Vengeance had ſix killed, and twenty-ſeven wounded, moſt of them dangerouſly; two,

of whom afterwards died. The Captain brought his two prizes to Plymouth the 27th of the ſame month.

In April another French frigate, called the Comete, of two and thirty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, juſt ſailed from Breſt, was taken to the weſtward of Uſhant by the Bedford, an Engliſh ſhip of the line, commanded by capt. Deane, who conveyed her in ſafety to Plymouth. About the ſame period and near the ſame place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the Pheaſant, manned with one hundred and twenty-five mariners, was engaged, taken, and brought to Spithead, by captain Brograve, commander of the Albany ſloop, whoſe victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the Pheaſant had thrown fourteen of their guns overboard during the chace. In the courſe of the ſame month a large Eaſt-India ſhip, fitted out from France, with twenty-eight guns, and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the Hero and Venus, commanded by the captains Forteſcue and Harriſon, and, being taken without oppoſition, was carried into Plymouth.

The cruizers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean, were diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſpirit of enterprize and activity. In the beginning of this very month the Oriflame, a French ſhip of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was deſcried by the Iſis, under the command of captain Wheeler, who came up with her at ſix in the evening, and a running fight was maintained until half an hour after ten. Captain Wheeler being unfortunately killed in the beginning of the action, the command devolved to lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving the enemy's deſign was to reach, if poſſible, the Spaniſh ſhore, boarded her without further heſitation; and in a little time, her commander ſubmitting, ſhe was brought into Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five, out of a complement of three hundred and ſeventy; the loſs of the Iſis did not exceed four killed and nine wounded. In July another exploit was performed by a ſmall detachment from the ſquadron commanded by the ſame admiral. Captain Proby, in the Thunderer, together with the Modeſte, Thetis, and Favourite ſloop, being ordered to cruize upon the coaſt of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ſhips of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz; they at length ventured to come forth, and on the ſixteenth day of the month were deſcried by the Britiſh cruizers. About midnight the Thunderer came up with the Achilles, which ſtruck, after a warm engagement of half an hour: Yet, in this ſhort action, captain Proby had near forty men killed and above

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one hundred wounded, he himſelf having ſuſtained a ſlight hurt in the right arm. About ſeven in the ſame morning the Thetis engaged the Bouffon, and the fire was maintained on both ſides with great vivacity for half an hour, when the Modeſte ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain ſubmitted. His ſhip and her conſort ſuffered conſiderably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheleſs, the victors carried them ſafely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the moſt remarkable and ſhining actions that diſtinguiſhed this war, and proved, beyond all contradiction, the ſuperiority which the Engliſh claimed over the French in point of naval diſcipline, was an incident which we ſhall now relate. On Monday the 10th of Auguſt, captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, having on board a conſiderable ſum of money for the merchants of London. On Thurſday in the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they diſcovered three ſail of ſhips ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle and two frigates. They no ſooner deſcried captain Faulkner than they bore down upon him, until within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when, ſeeing the Bellona and the frigate thro' the magnifying medium of a hazy atmoſphere, they miſtook them both for two decked ſhips, and dreading the iſſue of an engagement, reſolved to avoid the encounter. For this purpoſe they ſuddenly wore round, filled all their ſails, and crouded away. Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their ſize, and conjecturing from the intelligence he had received, that the large ſhip was the Courageux, in which particular he was not miſtaken, he hoiſted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chace until ſun-ſet, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he diſplayed a ſignal to the Brilliant to purſue in that direction, and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept ſight of the enemy during the whole night, and at ſun-riſe had gained but about two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours; ſo that the French commodore might have ſtill avoided an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of eſcaping in the darkneſs of the ſucceeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly ſerene, he now perceived that one of the Engliſh ſhips was a frigate, and the Bellona herſelf, which was one of the beſt conſtituted ſhips in the Engliſh navy, lay ſo fluſh in the water as to appear at a diſtance conſiderably ſmaller than ſhe really was. The French commander, therefore, being a man of ſpirit, hoiſted a red

enſign on the mizzen ſhrouds, as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with and engage the Brilliant. At the ſame time he hauled down his ſtudding ſails, wore round, and ſtood for the Bellona under his topſails; while captain Faulkner advanced towards her with an eaſy ſail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The ſea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ſhips, and at the ſame time permitted the full uſe of their heavy artillery. The two ſhips were equal in burthen, in number of guns and weight of metal. The crew on board the Courageux amounted to ſeven hundred men, able to ſtand to their quarters; and they were commanded by m. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The Bellona's complement conſiſted of five hundred and fifty choſen men, accuſtomed to diſcipline, and inured to ſervice. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both ſides was ſuſpended until they were within muſket ſhot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful diſcharge of fire-arms and artillery. In leſs than nine minutes all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, ſhrowds, and rigging, were cut and ſhattered by the ſhot, and the mizzen-maſt fell over the ſtern, with all the men on the round-top, who, nevertheleſs, ſaved their lives by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Captain Faulkner, apprehenſive that the enemy would ſeize the opportunity of his being diſabled, and endeavour to eſcape, gave orders for immediate boarding; an attempt which the poſition of the two ſhips ſoon rendered altogether impracticable. The Courageux was now falling athwart the fore-foot or bows of the Bellona, in which caſe the Engliſh ſhip muſt have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already ſhot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the aſſiſtance of his maſter, made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch dexterity, as to ware the ſhip quite round, and fall upon the oppoſite quarter of the Courageux. His preſence of mind and activity in this critical ſituation, were not more admirable than the diſcipline and diſpatch of his officers and men, who, perceiving this change in their poſition, flew to the guns on the other ſide, now oppoſed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a moſt terrible diſcharge, and maintained it without intermiſſion or abatement. Every ſhot took place, and bore deſtruction along with it. The ſides of the Courageux were ſhattered and torn by every ſucceſſive broadſide, and her decks

were

were ſtrewed with the carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy ſuſtain the havock made by this battery, ſo inceſſantly plied, and ſo fatally directed. At length it became ſo intolerable, that the French enſign was hauled down; the rage of battle ceaſed; the Engliſh mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the ſucceſs of the day. At this juncture a ſhot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tier of the Courageux, the Britiſh ſeamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured out two broadſides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement. The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was conſiderable, but ſhe ſuffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The caſe was very different with the Courageux, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was ſeen ſtanding but her foremaſt and bowſprit; large breaches were made in her ſides; her decks were torn up in ſeveral parts; many of her guns were diſmounted; and her quarters were filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed outright, and half that number was brought aſhore wounded to Liſbon, to which place the prize was conveyed. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeneſs with which he treated his priſoners, whoſe grateful acknowledgment, and unſolicited applauſe, conſtitute the faireſt teſtimony that a man of honour can enjoy. Nor ought we to withhold our praiſe from captain Logie of the Brilliant, whoſe valour and dexterity, in a great meaſure, contributed to the ſucceſs of his commodore. Perceiving it would be impoſſible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two frigates, the leaſt of which was of equal ſtrength with the ſhip he commanded; he reſolved to amuſe them both, ſo as to hinder either from aſſiſting the Courageux. He accordingly begun the action by engaging one of them, called la Malicieuſe. The other coming up he withſtood their joint efforts, ſo as to employ their whole fire, while the great ſhips were engaged, and even above half an hour after the Courageux had ſtruck her colours. Finally, he obliged them both to ſheer off, and to conſult their ſafety in flight, after they had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts and rigging. Captain Faulkner returned to Liſbon with his prize, which had well nigh periſhed by accident, before he reached the Tagus. A caſk of ſpirituous liquors catching fire near one of the magazines, the ſhip muſt have blown up, had ſhe not been ſaved by the preſence of mind

mind and reſolution of mr. Male, the firſt lieutenant. Obſerving the flames already communicated to ſome combuſtibles that happened to be in the way, he leaped down the hatchway into the midſt of them, and by his perſonal endeavours they were happily exſtinguiſhed. The centinel, who had kindled the fire by admitting a candle too near the ſpirits, was burned to death; and twenty French priſoners hearing the alarm, leaped into the ſea, where they periſhed. The two Engliſh captains joined in a liberal ſubſcription with the Britiſh factory at Liſbon, for the relief of the wounded French priſoners, who, without this generous interpoſition, muſt have ſtarved, as no proviſion for them was made by their own ſovereign.

We mentioned at the latter end of 1760, an expedition, the object of which was then kept a ſecret; this was prepared with great diligence in England; it was ſuppoſed to be againſt the coaſt of France and Belleiſle on the coaſt of Bretagne in particular; and indeed it proved ſo to be. But this fleet did not ſail till the ſpring of 1761, March 29. The land forces were commanded by major-general Hodgſon, and the fleet by the honourable commodore Keppel. This fleet came to anchor in the great road off Belleiſle, on the 7th of April, about twelve o'clock. Soon after their arrival, the commodore and general took a view of the coaſt, and at their return agreed, that the port of St. Andro, near point Lockmaria, was the moſt likely place at which to attempt a deſcent. It was accordingly ſettled between them, that ſir Thomas Stanhope, with ſome of the ſhips of war, and the tranſports, with Stuart's and Grey's battalions, and the marines on board, ſhould make a feint at Sauzon, at the ſame time that a real attack ſhould be made on St. Andro. But as it was late in the day, nothing more was done than giving orders to prepare for the embarkation of the troops early the next morning, in the flat-bottomed boats, as ſoon as the ſhips ſhould have ſilenced a four-gun battery, which commanded the entrance of the bay. The next morning, being the 8th, and the wind N. by E. the boats were ready for the reception of the troops. The ſignal was made early in the morning for them to aſſemble at the rendezvous; and three ſhips, with two bomb veſſels, were ordered to proceed round the point of Lockmaria, at the S. E. part of the iſland, and attack the fort and other works in the ſandy bay, round the point beforementioned.

Captain Barrington, in the Achilles, got up firſt, and ſoon ſilenced the fire from the fort, and from the ſhore; he then, as directed, made the ſignal for his having done ſo; no time

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was now loſt, the troops in the flat-bottomed boats were puſhed to the landing with great briſkneſs at three different places, near each other, by captain Barton, whom the admiral appointed to command the boats. But upon entering the bay, they found the enemy ſo ſtrongly intrenched on each ſide of the hill, which was exceſſively ſteep, and the foot of it ſcarped away, ſo that it was impoſſible to get up to the breaſtwork. The enemy being ſtrongly intrenched on the heights, and in the little fort, the troops ſoon met with ſuch a repulſe, that it became neceſſary, as well as prudent, to deſiſt from the attempt for that time. They accordingly retired with the flat-bottomed boats, in which they were well covered by the ſhips and bombs.

One of theſe boats landed ſixty of Erſkine's grenadiers, who got up a very difficult place to the top of the hills, where they formed with great ſkill, but were immediately routed by a much more numerous body of the enemy, ſo that all attempts to ſuccour them were ineffectual, any further than the boats bringing from the rocks about twenty of them.

In the mean time, ſir Thomas Stanhope, with four ſhips of war, the battalions of Grey's and Stuart's, with five hundred marines in tranſports, were oppoſite Sauzon, at the northern part of the iſland. Here troops were embarked in the boats, if poſſible, to divert the enemy from the principal object. A gale of wind coming on very quick, after retiring from the ſhore, they received much damage among the tranſports, by loſs of anchors and boats; twenty-two of the latter were loſt. The loſs of our troops on this occaſion was, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, four hundred and thirty-four.

No wonder their firſt attempt failed, as the whole iſland is a fortification; and the little nature had left undone to make it ſuch, was amply ſupplied by art; the enemy having been at work upon it ever ſince ſir Edward Hawke appeared before it in the winter of 1760. At this time the reduction of it was feaſible, without hazarding ſo much, had not the deſign been countermanded on the late king's death till the ſecret ſhould be communicated to the new miniſters.

However, this repulſe neither diſheartened the commanders nor the ſoldiers. They reſolved not to give up their deſign; and therefore determined diligently to ſearch the whole coaſt to find a place more favourable for a ſecond attack. It was a conſiderable time before the weather afforded an opportunity to make another attempt. At laſt a convenient part was found on the coaſt, not indeed leſs ſtrong than the reſt; on the contrary, the commanders founded their hopes on the exceſſive

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ſteepneſs and difficulty of the rocks. For the admiral and generaal were of opinion, that to attempt the rocks where it was juſt poſſible, and where the enemy were not otherways prepared, from the impracticable appearance there was of troops landing there, would be the moſt likely means to ſucceed; while by making a diſpoſition for the attack of their intrenched bays, and at Sauzon at the ſame time with the light horſe, they might poſſibly gain a footing.

A rocky ſhore near the point of Lockmaria was pitched upon: Beſides the principal attack, two feints were made at the ſame time to confound the enemy; whilſt the men of war directed their fire with great judgment, and no leſs effect, on the hills. This gave brigadier-general Lambert an opportunity of climbing up a rock with a handful of men. The difficulty of mounting had made the enemy the leſs attentive to that part as had been concluded. Beauclerck's grenadiers, with their captain, Patterſon, climbed a rock, and made good their landing, April 23, at five o'clock, before the enemy ſaw what was intended. Having gained the top of the rock, they formed in good order, and bravely oppoſed three hundred of the enemy who came upon them, till the reſt of brigadier Lambert's grenadiers got up to them; with whoſe aſſiſtance they repulſed the enemy, took three braſs field pieces, and ſome wounded priſoners, with the loſs of not above thirty men. Here the brave captain Patterſon loſt his arm.

In a ſhort time all the reſt of the Engliſh forces made good their landing with very little loſs. The enemy indeed, in one or two places, made ſome oppoſition, but the Britiſh light-horſe ſoon forced them back to the town, and cleared their way up to the very intrenchments. The cannon with great difficulty were brought forward, being obliged to be dragged up the rocks, and then two leagues further over a rugged and broken road. And now the ſiege of Palais was commenced; at this time there were two thouſand ſix hundred French troops in the citadel, commanded by a brave and experienced officer, the chevalier de St. Croix. From the character of this gentleman it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this place would not be ſoon ſurrendered; nor indeed was it. In one of the ſallies, which the enemy made, they were ſo lucky as to take priſoners major-general Crawford, his two aid-de-camps, and fifty more, as they were reconnoitering in the night; the enemy had with them in this ſally three hundred men, and came upon Crawford's party by ſurpriſe. Notwithſtanding the tedioufneſs of the ſiege, the Engliſh forces were not diſpirited; nor indeed did the beſieged appear to be diſheartened. They ſtill hoped

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that a fleet would arrive to their aſſiſtance; but our ſhips kept ſo cloſe a watch, as to prevent all relief from the continent.

A vigorous aſſault was made upon the lines that covered the town, when a body of new-raiſed marines behaved with uncommon, and unexpected, bravery; and the lines were carried with very little loſs. And now the condition of the beſieged was become very deſperate, yet the brave commander conſulted his honour more than his unhappy ſituation, and held out till the 7th of June, when ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and the place untenable, he aſked, and obtained, an honourable capitulation, after a defence of two months. He was granted for himſelf and garriſon all the honours of war, and they were tranſported to the continent at the expence of his Britannick majeſty. The Britiſh priſoners were declared to be free, from the moment of the capitulation; but the French priſoners were to be exchanged according to the cartel of Sluys. In this expedition we are ſuppoſed to have had eighteen hundred men killed and wounded; though ſome accounts make the killed to have amounted to two thouſand; among theſe was ſir W. Peere Williams, whoſe loſs was much lamented. He was ſhot in the night by having careleſsly approached too near a centinel of the enemy. The captains Bell, Wightwick, and Collins, of the marines, were promoted to the rank of majors in the army for their gallant behaviour. We have juſt obſerved that the marines, tho' newly raiſed, behaved in the attack upon the French lines with ſo much bravery, that no action of greater ſpirit and gallantry had been performed during the whole war. In the courſe of this ſiege, out of the troops that at firſt compoſed the French garriſon, nine hundred and twenty-two were killed, wounded, or taken priſoners; many brave Engliſh died of diſtempers, the iſland was in itſelf ſo barren, and St. Croix had taken care to remove the little it produced; ſo that proviſions and refreſhment muſt of courſe be all ſupplied from England.

With reſpect to this expedition, various were the reaſonings at home upon it. Whilſt it was yet in embrio, the expectations of the public were greatly raiſed, who hoped ſomething very capital was going to be undertaken againſt the enemy. But as ſoon as the deſtination of it was known, many thought contemptibly of it; and their diſguſt was increaſed at the delay that attended the taking of Belleiſle, and the expence of men and ſtores. They did not think that the acquiſition of it would be of any conſiderable ſervice to England in time of peace, if kept, or of any great injury to the enemy during the continuance of the war. They judged, that it could not be

taken without a conſiderable loſs, or kept without a very great expence; and, on the whole, they apprehended that when exchanges came to be made, it would be conſidered by France as of but little value. Others reaſoned thus; that tho' the harbours in that iſland were bad, yet ſmall privateers might lie there, and occaſionally moleſt the French coaſting trade; and that an Engliſh fleet might ride between it and the continent in a well-ſecured road. They further ſuppoſed, that tho' the loſs of the iſland might not be of great detriment to the intereſt of France, yet that her pride would be ſenſibly mortified by it; and that thoſe reaſons, which had formerly induced her to be at great expence in ſtrengthening the fortifications of it, and when alarmed with an invaſion, to put a ſtrong garriſon into it, might make her ſet ſome value on it when it ſhould come under conſideration in the treaty for a peace.

Others again diſliked this expedition, becauſe as a treaty for a peace was then in agitation between the two Courts, they thought this inſult upon the court of France would rather exaſperate them, and irritate their pride to renew thoſe efforts which their great loſſes had obliged them to ſuſpend. But this event did not ſeem to have had any prejudicial effect upon the treaty; and the breaking it off does not ſeem, in the leaſt, to be charged to that tranſaction. Notwithſtanding all theſe different reaſonings upon this event, the news of this capture no ſooner arrived in England, than a general joy diffus'd itſelf throughout the whole kingdom, and the city of London addreſſed his Majeſty upon the acquiſition. The General, and the land and ſea Officers concerned in the expedition, were univerſally praiſed, for having ſo bravely ſtruggled with, and at laſt overcome, the great difficulties that they had to encounter, and for not being diſpirited at their firſt repulſe, but ſtill nobly renewing the attack under circumſtances nearly as diſcouraging as thoſe they had at firſt experienced.

The loſs of Belleiſle was not the only injury the French ſuffered from us this year; in the month of July part of commodore Keppel's ſquadron, under ſir Thomas Stanhope, demoliſhed the works and fortificatious on the iſle of Aix. A captain of the Furnace bomb, on this occaſion, bravely diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

All Europe could not but be ſenſible, that, at this time, France was in ſuch an exhauſted condition, as not to be able to continue the payment of the ſtipulated ſubſidies; nor punctually to fulfil the engagements ſhe had entered into with her allies. This, that power ſeemed as little deſirous to conceal, as unable ſo to do; and accordingly that court made ſome propoſals towards

towards a peace, with which the other powers at war thought prudent to concur. Each of theſe parties prepared a declaration, which were all ſigned on the 25th of March, 1761, at Paris; the laſt day of the ſame month, they were delivered at London, accompanied by a letter from the duke de Choiſeul to mr. Pitt. As the conduct of the court of France, in this affair, had the appearance of candor and ſincerity, there was no delay made on our part. For the eighth of April following, a counter letter and memorial were returned on the part of the court of Great Britain. The king of Pruſſia alſo made his declaration. Augſburg was choſe as the moſt convenient city for all the parties to hold a congreſs. The Engliſh plenipotentiaries appointed for this purpoſe were, the lords Egremont and Stormont, and general Yorke; and the count de Choiſeul, for France. But as this congreſs, to be held by the conſent of the parties concerned in war on the continent, was only for the determination of that, and to reſtore a general peace to Germany, a diſtinct and ſeparate negociation was to be entered into between Great Britain and France, to examine and ſettle thoſe matters in which they were mutually and particularly intereſted.

Accordingly mr. Stanley, on the part of Great Britain, and mr. Buſſy, on that of France, ſet out for the two different courts, with plenipotentiary powers; they both arrived the latter end of May, the one at Marli, and the other at London. A negociation was accordingly entered on. The Articles of the greateſt conſequence between the Two Powers, to be ſettled, were theſe three.

I. France ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that a recompence ſhould be made to the French merchants, for thoſe ſhips that had been taken from them by the Engliſh, previous to the Declaration of War; but this was poſitively refuſed on our part.

II. England demanded, that Weſel and Guelders, and their dependant territories ſhould be reſtored to the king of Pruſſia; but this was peremptorily refuſed on the part of France, as the former demand had been by our court.

III. This turned upon withdrawing all ſubſiſtence, as well in ſubſidies as in money, mutually, and without prevarication from their allies in Germany. This was a ſubject, however, not eaſily to be adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

The principal things to be ſettled by the other Articles were theſe:

I. That all Canada ſhould remain to England; according to its utmoſt boundaries, including the courſe of the Ohio.

II. That the nations hereafter to be conſidered as neutrals, between Canada, Carolina, and Louiſiana, ſhould be traced out by lines.

III. That the French ſhould exerciſe the right of fiſhing, and dreſſing fiſh on the coaſt of Newfoundland, according to the 13th Article of the treaty of Utrecht. And that the iſles of St. Pierre and Miquelon ſhould be ceded to France; but without any fortification, or military eſtabliſhment, for the ſaid purpoſes.

IV. That the works added to the port of Dunkirk, ſince the beginning of the war, ſhould be entirely demoliſhed.

V. The neutral iſlands of Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, ſhould be equally divided.

VI. That Senegal and Goree ſhould be guarantied to Great Britain, as ſhould the ſettlements of Anamaboo and Akra, on the coaſt of Africa, to France.

VII. That a treaty between the Engliſh and French Eaſt-India company ſhould be immediately entered upon, concerning their mutual differences, to be ſettled and finiſhed at the ſame time with that between the two nations.

VIII. That Great Britain ſhould have Minorca reſtored, with all the artillery found in fort St. Philip at the time it ſurrendered.

IX. That Guadaloupe and Marigalante ſhould be reſtored to France, in the ſame manner.

X. That the landgraviate of Heſſe, county of Hanau, and town of Gottingen, ſhould be evacuated, and reſtored to their reſpective ſovereigns.

XI. That the French king ſhould declare, he never had any intention of retaining Nieuport and Oſtend after a general peace.

This ſeparation of the diſputes merely relative to England and France from thoſe of the continent, and leaving the latter to be ſettled by the principal Powers at war, in the congreſs of Augſburg, and that without the interpoſition of the neutral Powers, ſeemed to be ſuch wiſe and prudent meaſures, as to have promiſed a ſucceſsful concluſion. But the very contrary was the conſequence. Nor is this ſo much to be wondered at, if we examine the matter a little cloſer. For as the concerns of France were, by this ſettlement, ſeparated from the general cauſe, her own private intereſts became the more conſpicuous; and ſhe could not but be ſenſible how much they

they were likely to ſuffer in a treaty with a victorious power, ſuch as England at this time was. And tho' France had been more ſucceſsful on the continent, yet ſhe could not promiſe herſelf ſuch advantages from the ſettlement of affairs there, as might be ſufficient to indemnify her for the conceſſions England might require her to make, particularly in America, where the principal matters in diſpute between the two Powers ſubſiſted. This reduced her to think of ſome other reſource. This was only to be found in Spain, and accordingly the intereſts of that power were artfully introduced. Thus in the fifth Article of the French Memorial, of July 15, 1761, are theſe extraordinary words, "England ſhall enter into poſ-"ſeſſion, as ſovereign over the iſland of Tobago, in the ſame "manner as France over that of St. Lucia, ſaving, at all "times, the right of a third perſon, with whom the two "crowns will explain themſelves, if ſuch a right exiſts."

We cannot help here remarking, that the politics of France, at this time, ſeemed likely to have been as fatal to England, as they have ever been, if not more ſo. For had a peace at this time taken place, France would have recovered twenty thouſand ſeamen, who might have been employed in a new war, under the pretence of being an ally to Spain, in favour of whom the above Article appears to have been calculated, that the king of Spain might have a plauſible pretence to quarrel with Great Britain. That this certainly was the intention of France, appears moſt convincingly from the private memorial of the ſame date; in which a negociation with Spain was formally introduced, and the following demands made.

I. The reſtitution of ſome captures made upon the Spaniſh flag.

II. The privilege of fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland.

III. The demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements in the bay of Honduras.

"M. Buſſy repreſented to mr. Pitt, that it would be very dangerous to determine the fate of the neutral iſlands without attending to the claims of Spain, with which his Catholic Majeſty had recently acquainted the court of Verſailles, but which might eaſily be relinquiſhed, if the other three Articles were adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of that monarch. This blending of the concerns of Spain, with the ſeparate treaty between Great Britain and France, was very ſurpriſing at that time to the court of London. But it ſoon after appeared, that the kings of France and Spain had, even then, been negociating

ciating a family compact, in full contradiction to the ſpirit of the treaty of Utrecht, and in expreſs violation of the rights of commerce which Great Britain ought to enjoy. This extraordinary compact was ſigned at Verſailles, on the 15th of Auguſt, and ratified on the 8th of September, twelve days before mr. Stanley broke off the negociation with the duke de Choiſeul. By this compact, a perpetual league, offenſive and defenſive, was eſtabliſhed by theſe two powers, againſt all the world. It is ſufficiently evident, from the whole tenor of this compact, that any treaty between Great Britain and France, made at that juncture, muſt have been deluſive, if not momentary, unleſs the dignity and intereſts of the former had been tamely ſacrificed to the demands of Spain."

It was agreed in this treaty between France and Spain, that whoever ſhould declare war againſt one, did at that inſtant become an enemy to the other: And they bound themſelves by mutual oath to aſſiſt each other in all wars offenſive and defenſive; they guarantied each others dominions; and their natural-born ſubjects are to enjoy all rights, privileges and immunities, &c. in both kingdoms; and their ambaſſadors at all foreign courts are to live in perfect amity and aſſociation. In a word, it is a treaty of firm union and concord, formed by ambition to deſtroy all balance of power, and for ever to diſturb the peace of mankind. This is what is called the *Family Compact*. It was concluded in ſo ſecret a manner, that not above one or two perſons, except the ſigners, had for ſome time any knowledge of it. The connexions between theſe two branches of the houſe of Bourbon were not rivetted, when mr. Pitt diſcovered the intentions of Spain to aſſiſt France. It was, when the plan of the ſeparate negociation between England and France had been ſettled; when every thing that human wiſdom could foreſee had been happily arranged and fixed, in laying the baſis of the treaty, that the machinations of France and the deſigns of Spain were diſcovered by m. Buſſy's delivering a Memorial, ſignifying, that the Catholic King deſired to ſettle his differences with Great Britain at the ſame time that France did. Mr. Pitt inſtantly took the alarm: He ſaw the inſincerity of France; and he rejected with diſdain the offer of negociating 'through an enemy humbled, and almoſt 'at his feet, the diſputes of his nation, with a power actually 'in friendſhip with us.' He returned this offenſive Memorial as wholly inadmiſſible, and declared that any further mention of it would be looked upon as an affront to the crown, and incompatible with the ſincerity of the negociation. At the ſame time he diſpatched a meſſenger to lord Briſtol, the Engliſh

liſh miniſter at Madrid, to remonſtrate with energy and firmneſs, the unexampled irregularity of that court. The Spaniſh miniſtry vindicated their proceedings with France, and inſinuated their attachment to that kingdom. Mr. Pitt was now confirmed; he clearly ſaw the ſecret views of Spain; and he ſaw that the artifices and expreſſions of friendſhip for Great Britain, were only made uſe of to conceal thoſe views, till the Spaniſh treaſure from the Weſt-Indies ſhould be arrived, and then the King of Spain would declare himſelf.

It is proper to obſerve, that in the conferences between mr. Pitt and m. de Buſſy, the Britiſh miniſter, with a dignity and ſpirit becoming his character and the greatneſs of his nation, always treated him ſhort: He ſaid little, and what he ſaid was always final: He left no room for prevarication; and when it was attempted, he conſtantly withdrew: He diſtruſted the ſincerity of Buſſy's intentions, and the integrity of the French court. The French agent was thus deprived of coming at the ſecrets of England, which long conferences and chance expreſſions might give him ſome intimation of. M. Buſſy then ſet himſelf to work another way. He found other perſons who received him with affability. By his courteſy and addreſs he made himſelf agreeable to them. Here he employed his dexterity. He threw into a ſarcaſtical light every virtue of thoſe who were for making the moſt of our advantages: He repreſented reſolution, firmneſs, and intrepidity, as quixotiſm, obſtinacy, and inſolence; dignity as pride, and manly boldneſs as haughty preſumption. Buſſy found mr. Pitt had enemies: To them he gave this doctrine, and they ſpread it abroad with uncommon induſtry; together with a malignity that would diſgrace the pens of the loweſt dregs of mankind.

The unſeaſonable interpoſition of Spain was the true cauſe of the negociation breaking off. All other matters might perhaps have been ſettled. From this we received an incurable ſuſpicion of the deſigns of France and Spain. After which it was impoſſible to bring things to an happy iſſue; therefore the two miniſters returned to their reſpective courts in the month of September.

Mr. Pitt inſtantly prepared for war. He was fully ſatisfied Spain had reſolved to aſſiſt France. He had received intimation, if not a copy of the treaty of union between them: He ſaw the deſigns of Spain on Portugal. He reſolved to prevent both; not by the cautious and tardy ſteps of an ambaſſador; but by the early appearance of our commanders in chief, at the head of a great ſquadron, on the coaſt of Spain, demanding the fulleſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction of friendſhip and neutrality;

trality; and if refuſed, inſtantly declaring open enmity; and being armed with the force of their nation, to ſtrike terror into the bowels of Spain; to intercept their treaſures, and by depriving the Spaniard of his chief dependence, precipitate him into his own ſnare. This was a vigorous reſolution; ſuch as is rarely to be met with, and ſuch as will be an illuſtrious and eternal monument of mr. Pitt's penetration and ſpirit, becauſe time proved the rectitude of it. At this time he was oppoſed: He had of late met with frequent oppoſition to his ſchemes; however, when he propoſed this meaſure, he declared that 'this was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; that if this opportunity was let ſlip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved that this was the *laſt* time he ſhould ſit in that council. He thanked the Miniſters of the *late King* for their ſupport; ſaid he himſelf was called into the Miniſtry by the people, to whom he conſidered himſelf as accountable for his conduct; and he would no longer remain in a ſituation which made him reſponſible for meaſures he was no longer allowed to guide.' In this grand and leading motion he was ſupported by lord Temple; that nobleman had been his fellow compatriot and coadjutor from the beginning of his adminiſtration, and continued ſo to the end: All the reſt oppoſed it. He now ſaw his influence in the ſtate entirely at an end. He reſolved on reſigning: His motives for it were fair and honeſt: They were ſuch as he himſelf knew would anſwer and account for every part of his conduct hitherto; he thought this the propereſt time to reſign his truſt, when he could no longer be uſeful in the execution of it; but muſt either obſtruct and embarraſs the meaſures carried on by others if he oppoſed them; or ſacrifice his own fame and honour if he concurred in them contrary to his own conviction, and what he apprehended to be the intereſt of his country. Mr. Pitt and lord Temple immediately reſigned, September 5, and they gave to his Majeſty their reaſons in writing. The King expreſſed his concern for the loſs of mr. Pitt, and offered him any rewards in the power of the crown to beſtow. To have refuſed would have been inſult. Next day an annuity of 3000 l. was ſettled on him, and a title was conferred on his lady and her iſſue. Never was a penſion better beſtowed, nor nobility better merited.

On the reſignation of mr. Pitt, the earl of Egremont was appointed ſecretary of ſtate. The earl of Briſtol, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, was ordered to demand an explanation of the ſecret treaty, which had been lately ratified between France

France and Spain; and to declare that a refuſal would be conſidered as a declaration of war. The Spaniſh court had already taken all their meaſures in concert with France, and only waited for an opportunity to provoke Great Britain to a rupture; therefore they replied as follows.

Tranſlation of a Note delivered to the earl of EGREMONT *by the count de* FUENTES, *ambaſſador at the court of* LONDON *from the court of* SPAIN, *December* 25, 1761.

THE count de Fuentes, the Catholic king's ambaſſador to his Britannic Majeſty, had juſt received a courier from his court, by whom he is informed, that my lord Briſtol, his Britannic Majeſty's ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, has ſaid to his excellency mr. Wall, miniſter of ſtate, that he had orders to demand a poſitive and categorical anſwer to this queſtion, viz. "If Spain thinks of allying herſelf with France againſt England," and to declare at the ſame time, that he ſhould take a refuſal to his demand for an aggreſſion and declaration of war; and that he ſhould, in conſequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Spain. The above miniſter of ſtate anſwered him, That ſuch a ſtep could only be ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of haughtineſs and diſcord, which for the misfortune of mankind, ſtill reigns but too much in the Britiſh government: That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently attacked, and that he might retire how and when he ſhould think proper.

"The count de Fuentes is, in conſequence, ordered to leave the court and the dominions of England; and to declare to the Britiſh king, to the Engliſh nation, and to the whole univerſe, that the horrors into which the Spaniſh and Engliſh nations are going to plunge themſelves, muſt be attributed only to the pride, and to the unmeaſurable ambition of him who has held the reins of the government, and who appears ſtill to hold them, although by another hand: that if his Catholic majeſty excuſed himſelf from anſwering on the treaty in queſtion between his Catholic majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, which is believed to have been ſigned the 15th of Auguſt, and wherein, it is pretended, there are conditions relative to England, he had very good reaſons: Firſt, the king's dignity required him to manifeſt his juſt reſentment of the little management, or, to ſpeak more properly, of the inſulting manner, with which all the affairs of Spain have

been treated during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, who, finding himſelf convinced of the juſtice, which ſupported the king in his pretenſions, his ordinary and laſt anſwer was; "That he would not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London was taken ſword in hand."

Beſides, his majeſty was much ſhocked to hear the haughty and imperious tone, with which the contents of the treaty were demanded of him: If the reſpect due to royal majeſty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: The miniſters of Spain might have ſaid frankly to thoſe of England, what the count de Fuentes, by the king's expreſs order, declares publicly, viz. That the ſaid treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing which has the leaſt relation to the preſent war: That there is in it an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two ſovereigns; but it is ſpecified therein, that that guaranty is not to be underſtood but of the dominions which ſhall remain to France, after the preſent war ſhall be ended; that although his Catholic majeſty might have had reaſon to think himſelf offended by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to m. de Buſſy, miniſter of France, which he had preſented for terminating the differences of Spain and England, at the ſame time with the war between this laſt and France; he has, however, diſſembled, and from an effect of his love of peace, cauſed a memorial to be delivered to my lord Briſtol, wherein it is evidently demonſtrated, that the ſtep of France, which put the miniſter Pitt into ſo bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality, or the ſincerity of the two ſovereigns: That further, from a freſh proof of his pacific ſpirit, the king of Spain wrote to the king of France, his couſin, that if the union of intereſt in any manner retarded the peace with England, he conſented to ſeparate himſelf from it, not to put any obſtacle to ſo great a happineſs: But it was ſoon ſeen that this was only a pretence on the part of the Engliſh miniſter; for that of France continuing his negociation without making any mention of Spain, and propoſing conditions very advantageous and honourable for England, the miniſter Pitt, to the great aſtoniſhment of the univerſe, rejected them with diſdain, and ſhewed at the ſame time his ill-will againſt Spain, to the ſcandal of the ſame Britiſh council; and unfortunately he has ſucceeded but too far in his pernicious deſign.

This declaration made, the count de Fuentes deſire his excellency my lord Egremont to preſent his moſt humble reſpects

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to his Britannic majeſty, and to obtain for him paſſports, and all other facilities, for him, his family, and all his retinue, to go out of the dominions of Great Britain without any trouble, and to go by the ſhort paſſage of the ſea, which ſeparates them from the continent."

If there is a perſonal virulence againſt the late miniſter in this memorial, which deſcends even to ſcurrility; how ungratefull is the uſage he has received ſince from his own countrymen, who have echoed, from that period, both in converſation and in print, the ſubſtance of a declaration calculated to ſow jealouſies and foment diviſions among the ſubjects of Great Britain? The court of London ſaw too much of this ſpirit of invective in the Spaniſh memorial, and took notice of it in the anſwer delivered by the earl of Egremont; of which we are forced to give a tranſlation; for the enemies of England, having diſplaced mr. Pitt, were no longer neceſſitated to treat with us in Engliſh.

Tranſlation of the Anſwer delivered to the count de FUENTES *by the earl of* EGREMONT, *Dec.* 31, 1761.

"THE earl of Egremont, his Britannic Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, having received from his excellency the count de Fuentes, ambaſſador of the Catholic king at the court of London, a paper, in which, beſides the notification of his recal, and the demand of the neceſſary paſſports to go out of the king's dominions, he has thought proper to enter into what has juſt paſſed between the two courts, with a view to make that of London appear as the ſource of all the misfortunes which may enſue from the rupture which has happened: In order that nobody may be miſled by the declaration, which his excellency has been pleaſed to make to the king, to the Engliſh nation, and to the whole univerſe; notwithſtanding the inſinuation, as void of foundation as of decency, of the ſpirit of haughtineſs and of diſcord, which, his excellency pretends, reigns in the Britiſh government, to the misfortune of mankind; and notwithſtanding the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the Engliſh nation, as if it could be ſeparated from its king, for whom the moſt determined ſentiments of love, of duty, and of confidence, are engraved in the hearts of all his ſubjects; the ſaid earl of Egremont, by his majeſty's order, laying aſide, in this anſwer, all ſpirit of declamation and harſhneſs, avoiding every offenſive word,

which might hurt the dignity of ſovereigns, without ſtooping to invectives againſt private perſons, will confine himſelf to facts with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs: And it is from this repreſentation of facts, that he appeals to all Europe, and to the whole univerſe, for the purity of the king's intentions, and for the ſincerity of the wiſhes his majeſty has not ceaſed to make, as well as for the moderation he has always ſhewed, tho' in vain, for the maintenance of friendſhip and good underſtanding between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations.

The king having received undoubted informations, that the court of Madrid had ſecretly contracted engagements with that of Verſailles, which the miniſters of France laboured to repreſent, in all the courts of Europe, as offenſive to Great Britain; and combining theſe appearances with the ſtep which the court of Spain had, a little time before, taken towards his Majeſty, in avowing its conſent (tho' that avowal had been followed by apologies) to the memorial preſented the 23d of July, by the ſieur de Buſſy, miniſter plenipotentiary of the moſt Chriſtian king, to the king's ſecretary of ſtate; and his majeſty having afterwards received intelligence, ſcarce admitting a doubt, of troops marching, and of military preparations making in all the ports of Spain, judged that his dignity, as well as his prudence, required him to order his ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, by a diſpatch, dated the 28th of October, to demand, in terms the moſt meaſured however, and the moſt amicable, a communication of the treaty recently concluded between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, or at leaſt of the articles which might relate to the intereſts of Great Britain; and, in order to avoid every thing, which could be thought to imply the leaſt ſlight of the dignity, or even the delicacy, of his Catholic majeſty, the earl of Briſtol was authoriſed to content himſelf with aſſurances, in caſe the Catholic king offered to give any, that the ſaid engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, or that was prejudicial to the intereſts of Great Britain, ſuppoſing that any difficulty was made of ſhewing the treaty. The king could not give a leſs equivocal proof of his dependance on the good faith of the Catholic king, than in ſhewing him an unbounded confidence in ſo important an affair, and which ſo eſſentially intereſted his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the happineſs of his people.

How great, then, was the king's ſurpriſe, when, inſtead of receiving the juſt ſatisfaction, which he had a right to expect, he learnt from his ambaſſador, that, having addreſſed himſelf

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to the miniſter of Spain, for that purpoſe, he could only draw from him a refuſal to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to his majeſty's juſt requiſitions, which he had accompanied with terms that breathed nothing but haughtineſs, animoſity, and menace; and which ſeemed ſo ſtrongly to verify the ſuſpicions of the unamicable diſpoſition of the court of Spain, that nothing leſs than his majeſty's moderation, and his reſolution taken to make all the efforts poſſible to avoid the misfortunes inſeparable from a rupture, could determine him to make a laſt trial, by giving orders to his ambaſſador to addreſs himſelf to the miniſter of Spain, to deſire him to inform him of the intentions of the court of Madrid towards that of Great Britain in this conjuncture, if they had taken engagements, or formed the deſign to join the king's enemies in the preſent war, or to depart, in any manner, from the neutrality they had hitherto obſerved; and to make that miniſter ſenſible, that, if they perſiſted in refuſing all ſatisfaction on demands ſo juſt, ſo neceſſary, and ſo intereſting, the king could not but conſider ſuch a refuſal as the moſt authentic avowal, that Spain had taken her part, and that there only remained for his majeſty to take the meaſures which his royal prudence ſhould dictate for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the proſperity and protection of his people; and to recal his ambaſſador.

Unhappily for the publick tranquillity, for the intereſt of the two nations, and for the good of mankind, this laſt ſtep was as fruitleſs as the preceding ones; the Spaniſh miniſter, keeping no further meaſures, anſwered dryly, "That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the king's dignity attacked, and that the earl of Briſtol might retire how, and when, he ſhould think proper."

And in order to ſet in its true light the declaration, "That, if the reſpect due to his Catholick majeſty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; and that the miniſters of Spain might have ſaid frankly, as m. de Fuentes, by the king's expreſs order, declares publickly, that the ſaid treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon; wherein there is nothing which has the leaſt relation to the preſent war; and that the guaranty, which is therein ſpecified, is not to be underſtood but of the dominions which ſhall remain to France after the war:" It is declared, that, very far from thinking of being wanting to the reſpect, acknowledged to be due to crowned heads, the inſtructions given to the earl of Briſtol have always been to make the requiſitions, on the ſubject of the engagements between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles, with all the decency, and all

all the attention poſſible; and the demand of a categorical anſwer was not made till after repeated, and the moſt ſtinging refuſals, to give the leaſt ſatisfaction, and at the laſt extremity; therefore, if the court of Spain ever had the deſign to give this ſo neceſſary ſatisfaction, they had not the leaſt reaſon, that ought to have engaged them to defer it to the moment, when it could no longer be of uſe. But, fortunately, the terms, in which the declaration is conceived, ſpare us the regret of not having received it ſooner; for it appears at firſt ſight, that the anſwer is not at all conformable to the demand: We wanted to be informed, *if the court of Spain intended to join the French, our enemies, to make war on Great Britain, or to depart from their neutrality:* Whereas the anſwer concerns one treaty only, which is ſaid to be of the 15th of Auguſt, carefully avoiding to ſay the leaſt word that could explain, in any manner, the intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further engagements they may have contracted in the preſent criſis.

After a deduction, as exact as faithful, of what has paſſed between the two courts, it is left to the impartial publick to decide which of the two has always been inclined to peace, and which was determined on war.

As to the reſt, the earl of Egremont has the honour to acquaint his excellency the count de Fuentes, by the king's order, that the neceſſary paſſports for him ſhall be expedited, and that they will not fail to procure him all poſſible facilities for his paſſage to the port which he ſhall think moſt convenient."

That the reader may ſee the machinations of FRANCE and SPAIN in one point of view, and compare them with thoſe Memorials, we have added here the ſubſtance of the Family Compact, which as we mentioned was ratified twelve days before the negociation between mr. STANLEY and the duke de CHOISEUL was broken off.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty concluded between FRANCE *and* SPAIN *on the 15th of Auguſt*, 1761.

" 1. BOTH kings will, for the future, look upon every power as an enemy, that becomes the enemy of either.

2. Their majeſties reciprocally guaranty all their dominions, in whatever part of the world they be ſituated; but they expreſly

expreſly ſtipulate that this guaranty ſhall extend only to thoſe dominions reſpectively of which the two crowns ſhall be in poſſeſſion the moment they are at peace with all the world.

3. The two kings extend their guaranty to the king of the Two Sicilies, and the infant duke of Parma, on condition that theſe two princes guaranty the dominions of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties.

4. Tho' this mutual, inviolable guaranty is to be ſupported with all the forces of the two kings, their majeſties have thought proper to fix the ſuccours which are to be firſt furniſhed.

5, 6, 7. Theſe articles determine the quality and quantity of theſe firſt ſuccours, which the power required engages to furniſh to the power requiring. Theſe ſuccours conſiſt of ſhips and frigates of war, and of land-forces, both horſe and foot. Their number is determined, and the poſts and ſtations to which they are to repair.

8. The wars in which France ſhall be involved, in conſequence of her engagements by the treaties of Weſtphalia, or other alliances with the princes and ſtates of Germany and the North, are excepted from the caſes in which Spain is bound to furniſh ſuccours to France, unleſs ſome maritime power take part in thoſe wars, or that France be attacked by land in her own country.

9. The potentate requiring, may ſend one or more commiſſaries, to ſee whether the potentate required hath aſſembled the ſtipulated ſuccours within the limited time.

10, 11. The potentate required ſhall be at liberty to make only one repreſentation on the uſe to be made of the ſuccours furniſhed to the potenate requiring: This, however, is to be underſtood only in caſes where an enterprize is to be carried into immediate execution; and not of ordinary caſes, where the power that is to furniſh the ſuccours is obliged only to hold them in readineſs in that part of his dominions which the power requiring ſhall appoint.

12, 13. The demand of ſuccours ſhall be held a ſufficient proof, on one hand, of the neceſſity of receiving them; and, on the other, of the obligation to give them. The furniſhing of them ſhall not therefore be evaded under any pretext; and without entering into any diſcuſſion, the ſtipulated number of ſhips and land forces ſhall, three months after requiſition, be conſidered as belonging to the potentate requiring.

14, 15. The charges of the ſaid ſhips and troops ſhall be defrayed by the power to which they are ſent: And the power which ſends them ſhall hold ready other ſhips to replace thoſe which

which may be loſt by by accidents of the ſeas or of war; and alſo the neceſſary recruits and reparations of the land-forces.

16. The ſuccours above ſtipulated ſhall be conſidered as the leaſt that either of the two monarchs ſhall be at liberty to furniſh to the other; but as it is their intention that a war declared againſt either, ſhall be regarded as perſonal by the other; they agree, that when they happen to be both engaged in war againſt the ſame enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that, in ſuch caſes, they will enter into a particular convention ſuited to circumſtances, and ſettle as well the reſpective and reciprocal efforts to be made, as their political and military plans of operations, which ſhall be executed by common conſent and with perfect agreement.

17, 18. The two powers reciprocally and formally engage not to liſten to, nor to make, any propoſals of peace to their common enemies, but by mutual conſent; and, in time of peace as well as in the time of war, to conſider the intereſts of the allied crown as their own; to compenſate their reſpective loſſes and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the ſame power.

19, 20. The king of Spain contracts for the king of the Two Sicilies, the engagement of this treaty, and promiſes to cauſe it to be ratified by that prince; provided that the proportion of the ſuccours, to be furniſhed by his Sicilian majeſty, ſhall be ſettled in proportion to his power. The three monarchs engage to ſupport, on all occaſions, the dignity and rights of their houſe, and thoſe of all the princes deſcended from it.

21, 22. No other power but thoſe of the auguſt houſe of Bourbon ſhall be inſerted, or admitted to accede to the preſent treaty. Their reſpective ſubjects and dominions ſhall participate in the connection and advantages ſettled between the ſovereigns, and ſhall not do or undertake any thing contrary to the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between them.

23. The *Droit d'Aubaine* ſhall be aboliſhed in favour of the ſubjects of their Catholic and Sicilian majeſties, who ſhall enjoy in France the ſame privileges as the natives. The French ſhall likewiſe be treated in Spain, and the Two Sicilies, as the natural-born ſubjects of theſe two monarchies.

24. The ſubjects of the three ſovereigns ſhall enjoy, in their reſpective dominions in Europe, the ſame privileges and exemptions as the natives.

25. Notice ſhall be given to the powers, with whom the three contracting monarchs have already concluded, or ſhall hereafter

hereafter conclude treaties of commerce, that the treatment of the French in Spain and the Two Sicilies, of the Spaniards in France and the Two Sicilies, and of the Sicilians in France and Spain, ſhall not be cited nor ſerve as a precedent; it being the intention of their moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and Sicilian majeſties, that no nation ſhall participate in the advantages of their reſpective ſubjects.

26. The contracting parties ſhall reciprocally diſcloſe to each other their alliances and negociations, eſpecially when they have reference to their common intereſts; and their miniſters at all the courts of Europe ſhall live in the greateſt harmony and mutual confidence.

27. This article contains only a ſtipulation concerning the ceremonial to be obſerved between the miniſters of France and Spain, with regard to precedency at foreign courts.

28. This contains a promiſe to ratify the treaty.

Nothing had been ſeen at the Britiſh Court in the mean time but ſplendor and feſtivity, with a proſpect of both iſſue and domeſtic happineſs, from the King's Marriage in September this year, with the Princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, now Queen of Great Britain, &c. Addreſſes of felicitation were uſhered in as uſual by the City of London, and poured upon them by the Clergy, the Univerſities, the different ſects of Religion, the Cities, Towns, and Corporations in all parts of the Britiſh Dominions.

But the ceremony of the Coronation ſtill remained to be gone through with all the tedious circumſtances which cuſtom had clogged it with. A commiſſion had lately paſſed the great ſeal, conſtituting a court to decide the pretenſions of a great number of people, who laid claim to different offices and privileges in the celebration of this neceſſary form; many of theſe ſo frivolous, and uncouth, as to throw an air of ridicule on the whole tranſaction. Weſtminſter-hall was prepared for the coronation-banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. A platform was laid between this Hall and the Abbey-church, where the King is uſually crowned. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were faced and crowded with benches and ſcaffolding, which was continued on both ſides within the Abbey from the weſtern entrance almoſt up to the choir. The proſpect formed by theſe occaſional erections, which were very well contrived for ſecurity and convenience, could not fail to awaken the expec-

tation of the ſpectator for ſomething ſolemn and ſublime: But when all theſe benches were filled with above two hundred thouſand people, of both ſexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an aſtoniſhing idea of the wealth and populouſneſs of Great Britain, and added to the magnificent appearance of ſuch an incredible profuſion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumſtances of pomp by which it was diſtinguiſhed. The principal objects, however, ſtill maintained their importance in the eyes and boſoms of all the ſpectators, who could not without the moſt lively emotions of admiration and joy behold ſuch attractive accompliſhments in the Royal Pair, whoſe virtues adorned the crowns they were deſtined to wear; he, like Titus, the delight of every eye; and ſhe, the very pattern of ſweetneſs and complacency.

As the Kings and Queens of Great Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the Lord Mayor who happens to be choſen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their Majeſties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midſt of the moſt extraordinary expreſſions of loyalty and attachment that ever were known on any former occaſion.

On the 3d day of November the new parliament was opened at Weſtminſter. It was pretended no miniſterial influence had been uſed in electing the members of which it was compoſed, and that it deſerved the appellation of a free parliament; but we are to remember, that diſcord had again ſhewn herſelf in the cabinet, and parties were avowedly forming, in which court-influence bore a conſiderable weight. The King being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the Commons; to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the ſpeech of the Lord High Chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe, and chuſe a new ſpeaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cuſt, baronet, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity, qualified in all reſpects to ſupply the room of Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long and ſo worthily diſcharged that important office.

The Houſe of Commons, in order to manifeſt the warmth of their attachment to their ſovereign, proceeded to take into conſideration that part of his ſpeech relating to his royal conſort; and they reſolved, that, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his Majeſty, ſhe ſhould enjoy a proviſion of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the Lodge and Lands at Richmond

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old Park: That the King ſhould be enabled to charge that annuity upon all or any part of ſuch of the revenues, as, by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion for the ſupport of his Majeſty's houſhold, were directed to be, during the King's life, conſolidated with the aggregate fund, and ſhould be ſubſiſting after his Majeſty's demiſe; and to charge all or any part of the aggregate fund, as a collateral ſecurity for making good the ſaid annuity. A bill formed on theſe reſolutions paſſed both Houſes without oppoſition, and received the royal aſſent on the 2d day of December; when the Speaker made a ſpeech to his Majeſty, replete with expreſſions of loyalty and affection.

Their next care was to examine eſtimates, and provide for the proſecution of the war. They voted ſeventy thouſand ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year: They kept up the land forces to the number of ſixty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix, over and above the militia of England, the two regiments of fencible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and ſixty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven German auxiliaries to ſupport the war in Weſtphalia. The above grants, with others for the enſuing year, amounted to 16,794,153 l. 18 s. 11 d. 1 h.

1762.

ALL marks of friendſhip with Spain being now at an end, the firſt tranſaction this year was the declaring of War againſt that crown, which was done in the following words:

His MAJESTY'S DECLARATION OF WAR *againſt the* KING *of* SPAIN.

GEORGE R.

THE conſtant object of our attention, ſince our acceſſion to the throne, has been, if poſſible, to put an end to the calamities of War, and to ſettle the public tranquillity upon a ſolid and laſting foundation. To prevent theſe calamities from being extended ſtill farther, and becauſe the moſt perfect harmony between Great-Britain and Spain is, at all times, the mutual intereſt of both nations, it has been our earneſt deſire to maintain the ſtricteſt amity with the king of Spain, and to accommodate the diſputes between us and that crown in the moſt amicable manner. This object we have ſteadily purſued, notwithſtanding the many partialities ſhewn by the Spaniards to our enemies, the French, during the courſe of the preſent war, inconſiſtent with their neutrality; and

moſt eſſential proofs have been given of the friendſhip and regard of the court of Great-Britain for the king of Spain and his family. After a conduct ſo friendly, and ſo full of good faith, on our part, it was a matter of great ſurprize to us, to find a memorial delivered on the 23d day of July laſt, by m. Buſſy, miniſter plenipotentiary of France, to one of our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, expreſsly relating to the diſputes between us and the crown of Spain; and declaring, that if thoſe objects ſhould bring on a war, the French king would be obliged to take part therein. Our ſurprize was encreaſed, when, afterwards, this unprecedented and offenſive ſtep, made by a power in open war with us, was avowed by the Spaniſh miniſter to our ambaſſador at Madrid, to have been taken with the full approbation and conſent of the king of Spain.

But as this avowal was accompanied with the moſt becoming apologies on the part of the king of Spain, and with aſſurances, that ſuch memorial never would have been delivered, if it had been foreſeen that we ſhould have looked upon it in an offenſive light; and that the king of Spain was at liberty, and ready, to adjuſt all his differences with Great-Britain, without the intervention or knowledge of France: And ſoon after we had the ſatisfaction to be informed by our ambaſſador at Madrid, that the Spaniſh miniſter, taking notice of the reports induſtriouſl ſpread of an approaching rupture, had acquainted him, that the king of Spain had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating a good correſpondence with us; and as the Spaniſh ambaſſador at our court made repeated declarations to the ſame effect, we thought ourſelves bound in juſtice and prudence to forbear coming to extremities.

But the ſame tender concern for the welfare of our ſubjects, which prevented our accelerating precipitately a war with Spain, if it could poſſibly be avoided, made it neceſſary for us to endeavour to know with certainty, what were the engagements and real intentions of the court of Spain. Therefore as we had information that engagements had been lately contracted between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles; and it was ſoon after induſtriouſly ſpread throughout all Europe, by the miniſters of France, that the purport of thoſe engagements was hoſtile to Great-Britain, and that Spain was on the point of entering into the war; we directed our ambaſſador to deſire, in the moſt friendly terms, a communication of the treaties lately concluded between France and Spain; or of ſuch articles thereof as immediately related to the intereſts of Great-Britain, if any ſuch there were; or, at leaſt, an aſſurance that there were none incompatible with the friend-

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ſhip ſubſiſting between us and the crown of Spain. Our concern and aſtoniſhment was great, when we learned, that, ſo far from giving ſatisfaction upon ſo reaſonable an application, the Spaniſh miniſter had declined anſwering, with reaſonings and inſinuations of a very hoſtile tendency; and as, at the ſame time, we had intelligence, that great armaments were making in Spain, by ſea and land, we thought it abſolutely neceſſary to try, once more, if a rupture could be avoided: We therefore directed our ambaſſador to aſk in a firm, but friendly manner, whether the court of Madrid intended to join the French, our enemies, to act hoſtilely againſt Great-Britain, or to depart from its neutrality; and, if he found the Spaniſh miniſter avoided to give a clear anſwer, to inſinuate, in the moſt decent manner, that the refuſing or avoiding to anſwer a queſtion ſo reaſonable, could only ariſe from the king of Spain's having already engaged, or reſolved to take part againſt us, and muſt be looked upon as an avowal of ſuch hoſtile intention, and equivalent to a declaration of war, and that he had orders immediately to leave the court of Madrid.

The peremptory refuſal by the court of Spain to give the leaſt ſatisfaction, with regard to any of thoſe reaſonable demands on our part, and the ſolemn declaration at the ſame time made by the Spaniſh miniſter, that they conſidered the war as then actually declared, prove to a demonſtration, that their reſolution to act offenſively was ſo abſolutely and irrevocably taken, that it could not be any longer diſſembled or denied. The king of Spain, therefore, having been induced, without any provocation on our part, to conſider the war as already commenced againſt us, which has in effect been declared at Madrid; we truſt, that by the bleſſing of Almighty GOD, on the juſtice of our cauſe, and by the aſſiſtance of our loving ſubjects, we ſhall be able to defeat the ambitious deſigns, which have formed this union between the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon; have now begun a new war; and portend the moſt dangerous conſequences to all Europe. Therefore we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war againſt the ſaid king of Spain: And we will, in purſuance of ſuch declaration, vigorouſly proſecute the ſaid war, wherein the honour of our crown, the welfare of our ſubjects, and the proſperity of this nation, which we are determined at all times with our utmoſt power to preſerve and ſupport, are ſo greatly concerned.

And we do hereby will and require our generals and commanders of our forces, our commiſſioners for executing the

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office of our high admiral of Great-Britain, our lieutenant of our ſeveral counties, governors of our forts and garriſons and all other officers and ſoldiers under them, by ſea and land, to do and execute all acts of hoſtility, in the proſecution of this war, againſt the ſaid king of Spain, his vaſſals and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts; willing and requiring all our ſubjects to take notice of the ſame; whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold any correſpondence and communication with the ſaid king of Spain and his ſubjects: And we do hereby command our own ſubjects, and adverti ſe all other perſons, of what nation ſo ever, not to tranſport or carry any ſoldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the ſaid king of Spain, the ſame being taken, ſhall be condemned as good and lawful prize. And whereas there may be remaining in our kingdoms divers of the ſubjects of the king of Spain; we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, That all the Spaniſh ſubjects, who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully towards us, ſhall be ſafe in their perſons and effects.

Given at our court at St James's, the ſecond day of January, 1762, in the ſecond year of our reign.

GOD ſave the KING.

The KING *of* SPAIN'S DECLARATION OF WAR, *was publiſhed at* Madrid *on the* 18*th of* January; *of which the following is a tranſlation.*

THE KING.

ALthough I have already taken for a declaration of war by England againſt Spain, the inconſiderate ſtep of lord Briſtol, the Britannic king's ambaſſador at my court, when he demanded of Don Richard Wall, my miniſter of ſtate, what engagements I had contracted with France, making this the condition of his demand, or rather adding this threat, That if he did not receive a categorical anſwer, he would leave my court, and take the denial for an aggreſſion: And though, before this provocation was received, my patience was tired out with ſuffering and beholding, on many occaſions, that the Engliſh government minded no other law, but the aggrandiſement of their nation by land, and univerſal deſpotiſm by ſea: I was nevertheleſs deſirous to ſee whether this menace would be carried into execution; or whether the court of England, ſenſible of the inefficacy of ſuch methods towards my dignity and that of my crown, would not

not employ others that ſhould be more ſuitable to me, and make me overlook all thoſe inſults. But the haughtineſs of the Engliſh was ſo far from containing itſelf within juſt bounds, that I have juſt learned that on the 2d inſtant a reſolution was taken by the Britannic king in council, to declare war againſt Spain. Thus ſeeing myſelf under the hard neceſſity of following this example, which I would never have given, becauſe it is ſo horrible and ſo contrary to humanity, I have ordered by a decree of the 15th inſtant, that war ſhould likewiſe be immediately declared, on my part, againſt the king of England, his kingdoms, eſtates, and ſubjects; and that in conſequence thereof, proper orders ſhould be ſent to all parts of my dominions, where it ſhould be neceſſary, for their defence, and that of my ſubjects, as well as for acting offenſively againſt the enemy.

For this end, I order my council of war to take the requiſite meaſures that this declaration of war may be publiſhed at my court, and in my kingdoms, with the formalities uſual upon ſuch occaſions; and that in conſequence all kind of hoſtilities may be exerciſed towards the Engliſh; that thoſe of them who are not naturalized in Spain may leave my kingdoms; that they may carry on no trade there; and that only thoſe who are employed as artizans may be ſuffered to remain: That for the future my ſubjects may have no dealings with thoſe of England, nor with the eſtates of that crown, for any of their productions or fiſheries, particularly cod, or their manufactures or merchandize; ſo that the inhibition of this trade may be underſtood to be, and may be in fact, abſolute and effective, and ſtamp a vicious quality and a prohibition of ſale on the aforeſaid effects, productions, fiſheries, cod, merchandize, and manufactures of the dominions of England: That no veſſels whatſoever, with the abovementioned effects on board, may be admitted into my harbours, and that they may not be permitted to be brought in by land, being illicit and prohibited in my kingdoms, though they may have been brought or depoſited in buildings, baggage, warehouſes, ſhops, or houſes of merchants or other private perſons, my ſubjects or vaſſals, or ſubjects or vaſſals of provinces and ſtates with whom I am in peace or alliance, or have a free trade, whom, nevertheleſs, I intend not to hurt, or to infringe the peace, the liberty, and privilege which they enjoy, by treaty, of carrying on a legal trade in my kingdoms with their ſhips, and the proper and peculiar productions of their lands, provinces, and conqueſts, or the produce of their manufactories.

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I alſo command that all merchants, who ſhall have in their poſſeſſion any cod, or other fiſh or produce of the dominions of England, ſhall in the ſpace of fifteen days from the date of this declaration, declare the ſame, and deliver an account thereof, either at my court, or elſewhere, to the officers who ſhall be appointed by the marquis de Squilace, ſuperintendant-general of my revenues, that the whole may be forthcoming; and ſuch of the ſaid effects of which a liſt ſhall not be ſo delivered, in the ſpace of fifteen days, ſhall be immediately confiſcated; two months, and no more being allowed, for the conſumption of thoſe which ſhall be declared; after which time the merchants ſhall be obliged to carry the ſaid effects to the cuſtom-houſes, and, where there is no cuſtom-houſe, to the houſes that ſerve inſtead thereof, that they may be publickly ſold by an officer or officers nominated for that end, or, if none ſhould be appointed, by the judges, who ſhall give the produce of the ſale to the proprietors; but none of the ſaid merchandizes, prohibited in the manner juſt deſcribed, ſhall return to their warehouſes or ſhops.

I have given a ſeparate commiſſion, with all the neceſſary powers, to the marquis de Squilace, ſuperintendant-general of my revenues, that in that quality he may ſee that this prohibited trade be not ſuffered, and that he may immediately iſſue ſuch orders and inſtructions as he ſhall think neceſſary for this important end; taking cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, in perſon, and by his ſub-delegates, of the diſputes which ſhall ariſe on occaſion of this contraband, with an appeal to the council of finances in the hall of juſtice; except however what relates to contraband military ſtores, arms, and other effects belonging to war, particularized in treaties of peace, the cognizance of diſputes on theſe articles belonging to the council of war and the military tribunals.

And I command that all that is above be obſerved, executed, and accompliſhed, under the heavy penalties contained in the laws, pragmatiques, and royal cedules, iſſued on like occaſions in times paſt, which are to extend alſo to all my ſubjects, and the inhabitants of my kingdoms and eſtates, without any exception, and notwithſtanding any privileges; my will being that this declaration of war ſhall come as ſoon as poſſible to the knowledge of my ſubjects, as well that they may guard their perſons and effects from the inſults of the Engliſh, as that they may labour to moleſt them by naval armaments, and by other methods authorized by the law of arms. Given at Buen-retiro, Jan. 16, 1762.

I THE KING.

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The King of Spain had no ſooner declared war againſt Great-Britain, than he reſolved to invade Portugal; accordingly he, in conjunction with the French, required by ſeveral memorials, that the King of Portugal ſhould join in the confederacy againſt England, and that Spaniſh troops might be admitted into the principal towns and ports of Portugal. The Portugueſe monarch repeatedly deſired to continue in his neutrality; but that was not allowed him. The King of Spain inſtantly denounced war by the following declaration.

The KING *of* SPAIN'S DECLARATION OF WAR *againſt* PORTUGAL.

NEITHER my repreſentations, founded in juſtice and utility, nor the fraternal perſuaſives with which I accompanied them, have been able to alter the king of Portugal's blind affection for the Engliſh. His miniſters, engaged by long habit, continue obſtinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his ſubjects; and I have met with nothing but refuſals, and have been inſulted by his injurious preference of the friendſhip of England to that of Spain and France. I have even received a perſonal affront by the arreſting of my ambaſſador, don Joſeph Torrero at Eſtremos, who was detained there in violation of his character, after he had been ſuffered to depart from Liſbon and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of paſſports from that court; but notwithſtanding ſuch inſults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any meaſures with the king of Portugal, nevertheleſs adhering to my firſt reſolution of not making an offenſive war againſt the Portugueſe, unleſs forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my generals to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read an edict of the King of Portugal's, in which, miſrepreſenting the upright intentions of the moſt Chriſtian King and myſelf, he imputes to us a pre-concerted deſign of invading his dominions; and orders all his vaſſals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correſpondence with us both by ſea and land; and forbids the uſe of all productions coming from our territories, confiſcating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewiſe ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight; which term, however ſtraight, has been further abridged, and many of my ſubjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill-treated, before the expiration of it. And the marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portegueſe, ungrateful to his goodneſs

and moderation, and the exactneſs with which they have been paid for every thing they have furniſhed for my troops, have proceeded ſo far as to excite the people and ſoldiery againſt my army, ſo that it would be diſhonourable to carry my forbearance any farther. For theſe cauſes I have reſolved, that from this day my troops ſhall treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portugueſe ſhall be confiſcated throughout my dominions, that all the Portugueſe ſhall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them ſhall be prohibited for the future.

DECREE, *or* DECLARATION OF WAR, *iſſued by order of his* PORTUGUESE MAJESTY *againſt* SPAIN.

WHEREAS the ambaſſador of Caſtile, don Joſeph Torrero, in conjunction with don Jacob O'Dunne, miniſter plenipotentiary of France, by their repreſentations, and the anſwers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed on between the aforeſaid powers in the family-compact, was, to diſpoſe of theſe kingdoms as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, and uſurp them, under the incompatible pretext of aſſiſting me againſt enemies, which they ſuppoſed for ſuch, that never exiſted; and whereas different general officers of his Catholic Majeſty have ſucceſſively, ſince the 30th of April laſt, ſpread various papers through my dominions, preſcribing laws and ſanctions to my ſubjects, invading at the ſame time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforeſaid hoſtilities, under pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my ſubjects, and in ſuch light even the Catholic King himſelf has repreſented the caſe to me; and whereas, notwithſtanding all theſe contradictory and unheard-of motives, an offenſive war has been made againſt me, contrary to truth and juſtice, by the aforeſaid two monarchs, thro' mutual conſent; I have ordered it to be made known to all my ſubjects, that they hold all diſturbers or violators of the independent ſovereignty of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggreſſors and declared enemies; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and neceſſary retortion, they be treated as aggreſſors and declared enemies in all and every ſenſe; and that to oppreſs them in their perſons and effects, all military perſons and others, authoriſed by me, make uſe of the moſt executive means which in theſe caſes are ſupported by all laws; and that

that in like manner, all the ſaid military and every other perſon or perſons, of whatever rank, quality or condition they be, quit all communication and correſpondence with the ſaid enemies, under the penalties decreed againſt rebels and traitors. I likewiſe order that all the ſubjects of France and Spain, that reſide in this city, or in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the preciſe term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwiſe they ſhall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiſcated; and that in all the wet as well as dry ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication ceaſe with the aforeſaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits, manufactures, or goods of any kind, of the produce of the ſaid monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, ſale and uſe of them be prohibited. Ordered that this decree be affixed and tranſmitted to every county, that it may come to the knowledge of all my ſubjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the police to grant paſſports to all the aforeſaid, who have entered theſe kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their buſineſs, that they be permitted to retire unmoleſted.

Palace of Naſſa Senhora da Adjuda, 18th of May, 1762.

With the rubrick of his Majeſty.

Publiſhed 23d May, 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES:

As by the family compact no one could be the enemy of either France or Spain, without being an enemy to both, France, agreeable to it's engagement, likewiſe declared war againſt Portugal.

The FRENCH KING'S DECLARATION OF WAR *againſt* PORTUGAL.

THE King and the Catholic King being obliged to ſupport a war againſt England, have entered into reciprocal engagements to curb the exceſſive ambition of that crown, and the deſpotiſm which it pretends to uſurp in every ſea, and particularly in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers.

Their majeſties judged that one proper ſtep for attaining this end would be, to invite the King of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the propoſals which were made to that prince on this ſubject, in the name of his Majeſty and of his Catholic Majeſty, would be readily

accepted. This opinion was founded on the conſideration of what the moſt Faithful King owed to himſelf and to his people, who from the beginning of the preſent century have groaned under the imperious yoke of the Engliſh. Beſides, the event hath but too clearly ſhewn the neceſſity of the juſt meaſures taken by France and Spain with regard to a ſuſpicious and dangerous neutrality that had all the inconveniences of a concealed war.

The memorials preſented to the court of Liſbon on this ſubject have been made public: All Europe hath ſeen the ſolid reaſons of juſtice and conveniency, which were the foundation of their demand on the King of Portugal: To thoſe were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the moſt tender friendſhip and affinity, which ought to have made the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſalutary impreſſion on the mind of the moſt Faithful King.

But theſe powerful and juſt conſiderations were ſo far from determining that prince to unite with his Majeſty, and his Catholic Majeſty, that he abſolutely rejected their offers, and choſe to ſacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the King of Portugal's true intentions, the King and the Catholic King could conſider him, from that time, only as a direct and perſonal enemy, who under the artful pretext of a neutrality which would not be obſerved, would deliver up his ports to the diſpoſal of the Engliſh, to ſerve for ſheltering places for their ſhips, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more ſecurity and with more effect.

Nevertheleſs, his Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty thought it their duty to keep meaſures with the moſt Faithful King; and if the Spaniſh troops have entered Portugal, this invaſion, which was become indiſpenſably neceſſary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumſpection that could be required even in a friendly and neutral ſtate.

All this moderation has been thrown away: The king of Portugal hath juſt now declared war in form againſt France and Spain. This unexpected ſtep forced the Catholic King to make the like declaration againſt Portugal; and the King [of France] can no longer defer taking the ſame reſolution.

Independent of the motives which are common to the two monarchs, each had ſeparate grievances to alledge againſt Portugal, which of themſelves would be ſufficient to juſtify the

the extremity to which their Majeſties ſee themſelves with regret obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the unjuſt and violent attack made by the Engliſh, in 1759, on ſome of the [French] king's ſhips under the cannon of the Portugueſe forts at Lagos. His Majeſty demanded of the moſt Faithful King to procure him reſtitution of thoſe ſhips: But that Prince's miniſters, in contempt of what was due to the rules of juſtice, the laws of the ſea, the ſovereignty and territory of their maſter (all which were indecently violated by the moſt ſcandalous infraction of the rights of ſovereigns and of nations) in anſwer to the repeated requiſitions of the King's ambaſſador on this head, made only vague ſpeeches with an air of indifference that bordered on deriſion.

At the ſame time the court of Liſbon, pretending to be ignorant that ſovereigns, who hold the rank of their birth only, and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and majeſty of their throne, hath pretended to eſtabliſh, without diſtinction, an alternative of precedence between all the ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters about the king of Portugal. The King, being informed by his ambaſſador, of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unexampled regulation, ſignified in writing to the moſt Faithful King his juſt diſſatisfaction; and his Majeſty declared, that he would never ſuffer any attempt to be made to diminiſh the right eſſentially inherent in the repreſentative character, with which he is pleaſed to honour his ambaſſadors and miniſters.

However juſtly the King was authoriſed to expreſs, at that time, his diſpleaſure on account of theſe grievances, and ſeveral other ſubjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his Majeſty contented himſelf with recalling his ambaſſador, and continued to keep up a correſpondence with the moſt Faithful King, which he very ſincerely deſired to render more intimate and more laſting.

That prince, therefore, can only blame himſelf for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the firſt to declare.

His offers to obſerve an exact neutrality might have been liſtened to by the King and the Catholic King, if paſt experience had not taught them to guard againſt the illuſion and danger of ſuch propoſals.

In the beginning of the preſent century, the court of Liſbon was very forward to acknowledge king Philip V. of glorious memory,

mory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain: Peter II. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, ſeemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns: But after diſſembling his ſecret intentions for three years, he broke all his promiſes, and the neutrality which he had afterwards ſollicited, and which, in a letter to the republic of the united provinces he had even adviſed her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The ſame confidence, and the ſame ſecurity, on the part of the two crowns, in the preſent ſtate of things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Liſbon.

United to the Catholic King by indiſſoluble ſentiments of tender friendſhip and common intereſts, the King hopes that their united efforts will be favoured by the GOD of Hoſts, and will in the end compel the King of Portugal to conduct himſelf on principles more conformable to ſound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty.

The King commands and enjoins all his ſubjects, vaſſals, and ſervants, to fall upon the ſubjects of the King of Portugal; and expreſsly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, or intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his Majeſty hath from this day revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, paſſports, ſafe-guards, and ſafe-conducts, contrary to theſe preſents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant-generals, and other officers; declaring them null and void, and of no effect; and forbidding all perſons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Peace between France and Portugal, ſigned at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, (and by which it is expreſsly ſtipulated, 'That in caſe of a 'rupture between the two crowns, the ſpace of ſix months 'after the ſaid rupture ſhall be granted their ſubjects reſpec-'tively to ſell or remove their effects, and withdraw their per-'ſons if they think fit') the King of Portugal hath juſt now ordered, that all the French who are in his kingdom ſhould leave it in the ſpace of fifteen days, and that their effects ſhould be confiſcated and ſequeſtrated; his Majeſty, by way of juſt reprizals, commands, that all the Portugueſe in his dominions ſhall, in like manner, leave them within the ſpace of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects ſhall be confiſcated.

Verſailles, June 20, 1762.

Family

Family connections, and the various diſtreſſes of Portugal, ought to have moderated the deſigns againſt that kingdom. A fatal earthquake; a daring and wicked attempt upon the life of the ſovereign; the very dreadful puniſhments afterwards inflicted upon the noble families which were concerned in that attempt; the expulſion, and total ruin, of the jeſuits; all theſe working together, had weakened, to a great degree, that reciprocal affection and confidence which conſtitute the true happineſs of prince and people. In this ferment of men's minds, the conſequence of an irruption on the part of Spain, was dubious. Such an irruption, unprovoked and cruel as it was, might have given ſpirit and power to diſaffection, or it might have called back the court and nation to their mutual intereſt, and have at leaſt united a wretched country before it was ſubdued. Upon the whole, it ſeems to have done neither; the king maintained his prerogative, and the ſubjects abandoned the country to their enemies.

Great-Britain, ever faithful to her treaties, took care to ſend a timely ſuccour of troops and officers to Portugal, in the month of May. With reſpect to the war between Spain and Portugal, we ſhall give a ſhort account of the principal events.

The Spaniards on their entring into Portugal are ſaid to have committed unheard-of barbarities among the ſmall villages, robbing and murdering the inhabitants, ſetting fire to their crops, and not even ſparing the ſacred furniture belonging to their chapels. In the courſe of this invaſion, they made themſelves maſters of Miranda; whilſt the marquis de Sarria, commander of the Spaniſh forces, was preparing to beſiege it, a powder magazine blowing up, determined the Portugueſe governor to capitulate; upwards of 800 men were either deſtroyed by the exploſion, or obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war.

They afterwards reduced Braganza, Torre di Moncorvo, and Chaves. They demoliſhed the fortifications of Miranda and Braganza, and left a ſtrong garriſon in the others. On their retreat from Braganza, they plundered the college and church, as well as the houſes of ſeveral of the principal people; whom, together with ſeveral prieſts, they carried with them to Spain. They alſo killed ſeveral peaſants of that neighbourhood in cold blood. But his Catholic Majeſty being informed of the ſacrilege committed by his army, ordered all the ſacred furniture to be reſtored to the biſhop of the dioceſe, and that the churches ſhould not be profaned.

The

The Spaniards divided their forces, which were in the province of Tras-os-Montes, into three parts. The principal corps was encamped near Miranda; the ſecond, conſiſting of 5000 men, at Torre di Moncorvo; the third, of the ſame number, near Chaves. Another body of eight thouſand men entered the Portugueſe frontier near Almeyda: This corps ſuffered by deſertion, and its detached parties were often repulſed by the militia of the country. The ſummer months in that warm climate are unfavourable to military expeditions, and the Spaniards could do little more than chaſtiſe the peaſants of ſeveral villages, whoſe natural averſion overcame the oath of obedience which they had taken, and who did every thing in their power to cut off the convoy of proviſions deſigned for their camp. Theſe, and the Portugueſe companies, called auxiliaries, were eaſily defeated and diſperſed. At length the Spaniards opened the trenches before Almeyda, a frontier town, in the province of Tras-os-Montes, ſixteen miles from the Spaniſh city of Cividad Rodrigo. On the 25th of Auguſt the fortreſs was ſurrendered, after a ſiege of nine days, and before a practicable breach had been made, by the governor Alexandro de Pallares Coello di Brito, for which he was afterwards put under confinement at Coimbra. Fifteen hundred regulars, and two thouſand peaſants, were permitted to retire with the houours of war, on condition of not ſerving againſt the King of Spain for ſix months. They found there eighty pieces of cannon, eleven of iron, nine braſs mortars, and one of iron for grenades; ſeven hundred quintals of powder, and other implements of war, together with a quantity of ammunition and proviſions.

As a counterbalance to this advantage, the count de Lippe, (who now commanded the Britiſh and Portugueſe troops, lord Tyrawley being returned to England) cauſed Valencia'd Alcantara to be attacked by the Britiſh troops. Brigadier-general Burgoine, who was appointed to this brave exploit, ordered part of his regiment of light dragoons to puſh into the town ſword in hand. The attack was ſo briſk and ſudden, that the guards in the ſquare were all killed, or taken priſoners, before they could uſe their arms. After the body of the Engliſh regiment was come up, and formed in the ſquare, ſome deſperate parties attempted an attack; but all of them were deſtroyed, or taken. The general gave no quarter to thoſe who fired ſingle ſhots from the windows of the houſes: At laſt he forced ſome prieſts to go through the town, to declare to the people, that he was determined to ſet fire to it at the four corners, unleſs all the doors and windows

windows were inſtantly thrown open. This menace had the deſired effect. Major-general don Michael d'Irumberry and Balanca, with his aid de camp; one colonel and his adjutant; two captains, ſeventeen ſubalterns, and fifty-nine private men, were made priſoners; the reſt of the regiment of Seville were deſtroyed. Three colours were taken. The dragoons were ſent into the country to bring in all who had eſcaped. A detached ſerjeant, and ſix men only, fell in with a Spaniſh ſubaltern and twenty-five dragoons, who were unbroken, and prepared to receive them; of theſe they killed ſix, made the reſt priſoners, and took all their horſes; an exploit which will be remembered to their honour.

The loſs of the Engliſh in the attack of Valenca was inconſiderable; only lieutenant Burk, of colonel Frederick's, one ſerjeant, and three private men, were killed; but two ſerjeants, one drummer, and eighteen private men, were wounded; ten horſes were killed, and two wounded. Brigadier Burgoine and colonel Somerville conducted the troops in perſon. The Britiſh grenadiers, under the command of lord Pulteney, ſince dead, diſlodged the enemy's infantry from the houſes, and captain Singleton diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this affair. The Spaniſh officers themſelves publickly commended the generoſity of general Burgoine in handſome terms; and indeed the generoſity and courage of the Britiſh troops, on this occaſion, were highly worthy of admiration. This ſucceſs would probably have been attended with more, if circumſtances that could not well be expected, had not retarded the march of ſixteen Portugueſe battalions, and three regiments of cavalry.

The field-marſhal, count de Lippe, on this occaſion, in the orders of the day, Auguſt 29, declares, that "he thinks it his duty to acquaint the army with the glorious conduct of general Burgoine, who, after having marched fifteen leagues without halting, had taken Valenca ſword in hand, made the general, who was to have invaded Alentejo, priſoner, deſtroyed the Spaniſh regiment of Seville, taken three ſtandards, a colonel, many officers of diſtinction, and a great number of ſoldiers, priſoners. The marſhal makes no doubt but the whole army will rejoice at this event, and that every one will, in proportion to his rank, ſtrive to imitate ſo glorious an example."

The marquis de Sarria had hitherto commanded the Spaniſh army, but having ſollicited and obtained his diſmiſſion, with the order of the golden fleece in recompence of his paſt ſervices, he was ſucceeded in his poſt of general by the count d'Aranda.

d'Aranda. The Portugueſe on the 28th of September abandoned Celorico. The Spaniards afterwards took poſſeſſion of Penamacor, Salvaterra, and Segura. In Salvaterra there was a garriſon of upwards of four hundred men, who capitulated on the condition of not ſerving againſt the King of Spain, or his allies, for the term of ſix months.

The Spaniards, early in October, alſo made themſelves maſters of the defile of St. Simon, and of Villa Velha, a Mooriſh caſtle near the Tagus. Brigadier Burgoine for ſome time ſupported the latter fortreſs acroſs the river. The garriſon, conſiſting of upwards of three hundred men, ſurrendering priſoners of war. The Portugueſe infantry, under the count de St. Jago, being obliged to file off by the road of Sobreira Formoſa, lord Loudon, with four Britiſh regiments, ſix companies of Portugueſe grenadiers, ſome light dragoons and Portugueſe cavalry, brought up the rear guard, and kept the Spaniards in awe. The Portugueſe grenadiers merited upon this occaſion the approbation of lord Loudon, who ſpoke advantageouſly of them. Colonel Lee, between the 5th and 6th of October, with one hundred grenadiers, two hundred royal volunteers, fifty Britiſh dragoons, and fifty of St. Payo's horſe, all under the orders of Brigadier-general Burgoine, marched up to a Spaniſh encampment near Villa Velha, which they attacked and forced, burnt ſome magazines, ſpiked up ſix pieces of cannon, brought off about ſixty artillery mules, a few priſoners, and a quantity of valuable baggage. Lieutenant Maitland, of Burgoine's dragoons, bravely diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this affair, and repulſed the enemy's cavalry. The Britiſh troops loſt only one corporal killed, eight private men wounded and miſſing. The Spaniards, according to their own account, had two lieutenants killed, one colonel and one enſign wounded, one captain and one ſubaltern taken priſoners; the loſs of their private men uncertain. Great commendations are due to the abilities of general Burgoine, and the reſolution of the Britiſh troops commanded by colonel Lee, in this operation.

The ſurpriſe of the Spaniſh encampment near Villa Velha, as above related, effectually defeated the ſcheme they had formed of paſſing over the Tagus into the province of Alentejo; and the heavy rains which fell afterwards, obliged them to retire from Caſtella Branco, and to repaſs the mountains which ſeparate the provinces of Eſtremadura and Beira.

Soon after the reduction of Belleiſle laſt year, an expedition was ſet on foot for the reduction of Martinico. The preparations

rations were greatly interrupted by the negotiation for peace between m. Buſſy and the miniſtry. As that negociation proved fruitleſs, the expedition, which had been begun by mr. Pitt, and intended againſt Martinico, was revived by thoſe who ſucceeded upon his reſignation, with only this difference, the appointment of another naval commander. In the month of October, 1761, admiral Rodney ſailed from England with a ſquadron of ſhips, having under convoy a ſufficient number of tranſports. He touched at Belleiſle, from which he took four battalions, and then proceeded to Barbadoes, where he was joined by a body of troops from North America, under the direction of general Monckton, who now took the command of the troops, amounting in the whole to eighteen battalions. On the 5th of January, 1762, the fleet, which had been joined by the ſhips on this ſtation, and was now eighteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, &c. ſet ſail with the troops from Barbadoes; and on the 8th the tranſports with the troops on board anchored in St. Anne's bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinico. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable man of war was, by the ignorance of the pilots, run upon a range of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be diſengaged, though the men were ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery. The General, however, judging this an improper place for a diſembarkation, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petite-Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron; and other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without further oppoſition on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a deſcent in the other place, and marched to the ground oppoſite to the Pidgeon Iſland, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but the roads being found impaſſable for artillery, mr. Monckton altered his firſt deſign. The two brigades, however, with the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Scot, while they remained on ſhore, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes, who had been ſent over from Fort Royal; but they met with ſuch a warm reception as compelled them to retreat with precipitation, after having ſuſtained ſome loſs.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were ſpared from the ſquadron, the General reſolved to beſiege the town of Fort Royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it neceſſary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueſon, which the enemy had fortified, and ſeemed reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity. The Engliſh commander having erected a battery to favour the paſſage of a ravine, or gully, which ſeparated him from thoſe heights, made a diſpoſition for the attack, which was put in execution on the 24th of January. In the dawn of the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, ſupported by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy, under a briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Ruſane with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Walſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy. They ſucceeded in their attempt, while the grenadiers were engaged in driving the French from one poſt to another; and this motion contributed in a great meaſure to the ſucceſs of the day. By nine in the morning they were in poſſeſſion of the Morne, or hill, Tortueſon, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confuſion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which, being more high and inacceſſible than the other, was deemed impracticable. During the conteſt for the poſſeſſion of Tortueſon, brigadier Haviland, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of highlanders, and another corps of light infantry under major Leland, was ordered to paſs the gully a good way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy poſted on the oppoſite heights, in hope of being able to divide their force; but the country was ſo difficult of acceſs, that it was late before this paſſage was effected. In the mean time, the general perceiving the enemy giving way on all ſides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walſh's brigade, and a diviſion of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and where they took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt oppoſite to the Morne Garnier. They were ſupported on the right by Haviland's corps, when they paſſed the gully, and the road between the two plantations, which they occupied, was covered by the marines. Next day the Engliſh began to erect batteries againſt the citadel of Fort Royal; but they were greatly annoyed from Morne Garnier.

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On the 27th, about four in the afternoon, the enemy made a furious attack, with the greateſt part of their forces, on the poſts occupied by the light infantry and brigadier Haviland; but they were ſo roughly handled, that they ſoon retired in diſorder. Such was the ardour of the Engliſh troops, that they paſſed the ravine or gully with the fugitives, ſeized their batteries and took poſſeſſion of the ground, being ſupported by the brigade of Walſh and the grenadiers under Grant, who marched up to their aſſiſtance when the attack began. Major Leland, with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walſh, Grant, and Haviland, moved up in order to ſupport him; ſo that by nine at night the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this very ſtrong poſt, that commanded the citadel, againſt which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia diſperſed in the country. The Governor of the citadel perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, propoſed to treat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the Engliſh; and next morning the garriſon, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland, deſiring a capitulation: But the governor-general, mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend with uncommon vigour. On the 7th Pidgeon iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and counted one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and obtained a capitulation ſimilar to that of the citadel. It was agreed, that the troops of the French King ſhould be tranſported to Rochfort in France; that the militia ſhould lay down their arms, and remain priſoners of war until the fate of the iſland ſhould be determined. Theſe ſignal ſucceſſes were obtained at the ſmall expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable. The moſt remarkable circumſtance of this enterprize was the ſurpriſing boldneſs and alacrity of the ſeamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ſhips cannon up the ſteepeſt mountains to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, and acroſs the enemy's line of fire, to which they expoſed themſelves with amazing indifference. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Fort Royal;

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and a much greater number from other ports in the iſland, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other reſpects, were very favourably treated. Juſt when general Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, a very large and flouriſhing town, ſituated to leeward of Fort Royal, two deputies arrived with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland on the part of mr. de la Touche, the governor general. On the 14th the terms were ſettled, and the capitulation ſigned: On the 16th the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood; while the governor-general, with mr. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, ſtaff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked in tranſports, to be convoyed to France. The inhabitants of Martinique found themſelves conſiderable gainers by their change of ſovereigns; inaſmuch as, together with the enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and property, they had an opportunity of exporting their produce to advantage, and being ſupplied with all neceſſaries from the dominions of Great-Britain; whereas, before they fell under the Engliſh government, their commerce was almoſt entirely interrupted, and they were obliged to depend even for ſubſiſtence upon the moſt precarious and hazardous methods of ſupply. By the reduction of Martinique, the iſlands of Antigua, St. Chriſtopher's, and Nevis, together with the ſhips trading to theſe colonies, were perfectly ſecured againſt the depredations of the enemy; and Great-Britain acquired an annual addition in commerce, at leaſt to the amount of one million ſterling. While general Monckton was employed in regulating the capitulation, commodore Swanton ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron and ſome troops to the iſland of Grenada, thoſe of the Grenadillas, and St. Vincent, one of the neutral iſlands, all of which were taken without the loſs of a man. The iſland of St. Lucia, which is the principal and moſt valuable of the neutral iſlands, about this time ſurrendered at diſcretion to captain Hervey.

An inſufficient and trifling force being kept in North America, the French embraced the opportunity of ſeizing Newfoundland; accordingly two ſhips of the line and three frigates, commanded by m. de Terney, with a body of troops under the command of count de Hanſoville, ſlipt out of Breſt in the ſpring, and on the 25th of June appeared off Newfoundland, where they inſtantly landed, and on the 27th obliged the town of St. John's to ſurrender. Every thing belonging to the fiſhery in this and the contiguous harbours

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was entirely deſtroyed, and other conſiderable damages done. As ſoon as Sir Jeffery Amherſt at New York heard of this affair, he detached lieutenant colonel Amherſt with a body of troops, which being put on board ſome tranſports, ſailed for Halifax, in order to join lord Colville, who commandedon that ſtation; yet he had but one ſhip of the line and a frigate, until joined by the Antelope with the trade from Europe; for her captain on hearing of the diſaſter at St. John's, ſailed away for Placentia, another harbour in Newfoundland, which the French had not ventured to attack. On the 11th of September colonel Amherſt joined lord Colville, and as ſoon as poſſible, proper diſpoſitions were made for landing the troops on Newfoundland, which was done on the 13th of September, near St. John's. The enemy were inſtantly driven from their out poſts, and put to flight on every ſide. The French commodore ſeeing there was no hope of preſerving the place, ſtole out of the harbour in the night, under favour of a thick fog, and ſhamefully fled before an inferior force. The town being now abandoned, the garriſon, conſiſting of ſix hundred and eighty-nine men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

The firſt event, this year which diſtinguiſhed the affairs of Germany, was the death of Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, which happened on the 5th of January, in the 52d year of her age, and the 22d of her reign. She was ſucceeded by Peter III. her nephew, and duke of Holſtein. Her death delivered the King of Pruſſia from a formidable and determined enemy; as her ſucceſſor adopted not only a different but an oppoſite ſyſtem. Soon after his acceſſion he agreed to a mutual exchange of priſoners without ranſom, and to a general ſuſpenſion of arms; he offered to ſacrifice his own conqueſts to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and invited all his allies to follow his example. By the accounts which were publiſhed of his early proceedings, he ſeemed, at leaſt, to attend to the domeſtic happineſs of his ſubjects; for he conferred upon his nobility the ſame independance which that order enjoys in the other monarchies of Europe; and he lowered the heavy duties upon ſalt in favour of the commonalty. Thus gratifying both the greateſt and meaneſt of his people, he appeared to thoſe at a diſtance to be ſtrengthning himſelf in the hearts of the Ruſſians, and to be ambitious of a popularity equal to that which had been beſtowed upon any of his predeceſſors. This was only the judgment of perſons at a diſtance; thoſe who were nearer the ſcene ſaw nothing in his conduct but a blind precipitation in affairs of moment, blended with an uncommon zeal for trifles. The

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many errors of his government made it believed, that he was meditating the deſign of ſetting aſide the great duke Paul, in favour of the depoſed prince Ivan. A deſign of ſuch a nature muſt have ariſen either from extreme madneſs, or from ſome family ſuſpicion, which it would not become us to inſinuate. He had ſcarce made peace with Pruſſia, before he threatened Denmark with a war, on account of his pretenſions to part of the dutchy of Holſtein-Schleſwick in Germany. He drove every thing before him with an extravagant and thoughtleſs rapidity. Inſtead of courting the affections of his guards, who had made and unmade the monarchs of Ruſſia; ſome of theſe he ſlighted; all, perhaps, he affronted, by taking a ridiculous pleaſure in the uniform of his Pruſſian regiment, and by placing an idle confidence in his Holſtein troops. He was obligated to communicate with the Greek church; yet he inſulted the rites of it, and diſtinguiſhed the faſt days by a large piece of beef. He had not the virtues of the private gentleman to compenſate for the defects of the prince. His propenſity to the northern vice of intemperance in drinking, betrayed him into a diſcovery of his ill-concerted meaſures; whilſt an open diſregard of the empreſs, his conſort, confirmed her apprehenſions of danger, and taught her to conſult her own ſecurity. A conſpiracy was formed, and he was depoſed by the intrigues of his conſort, who ſucceeded to the throne. Among the conſpirators were, the empreſs, and the velt marſhal Roſamowſky, Hetman of the Coſſacks, whom the Emperor had a little time before declared colonel of one of the regiments of foot guards. The empreſs, in her famous manifeſto publiſhed after her huſband's death, brought a variety of accuſations againſt him; ſhe charged him with ingratitude to the empreſs Elizabeth his aunt; with incapacity; an abuſe of power; a contempt of religion and law; a ſcheme to remove the grand duke from the ſucceſſion; to ſettle it in favour of a ſtranger; and even to put herſelf to death. Thus we have ſeen a ſovereign prince of Holſtein, great nephew of Charles the XIIth, grandſon of Peter the firſt, and heir of thoſe rival monarchs, once elected ſucceſſor to the crown of Sweden, actually aſcending the throne of Ruſſia, hurled down, after a ſhort reign of ſix months, from all his greatneſs, by the intrigues of a woman and the reſentments of a ſtanding force, ſupported by the concurrence of an offended nation; leaving an important leſſon to princes, of the inſtability of human grandeur, and of the certain danger of an eſtabliſhed military power under a weak and capricious government.

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This very unhappy monarch died within eight days after his depoſition. The ſuſpicion of the world, warranted by hiſtorical examples, has concluded that his death was violent: Indeed it has been reported, that whilſt he was great duke, a miniſter of ſtate declared in words to this effect, 'That 'nothing could cure him but a black doſe.'

Notwithſtanding this revolution, the intereſts of the King of Pruſſia were not injured. The Empreſs adhered to the engagements of her late huſband, and peculiarly exerted herſelf in bringing about a peace in Germany. The Swedes followed the example of the Ruſſians; they made a peace with the King of Pruſſia in May, by which both parties ſat down juſt as they begun. This monarch having now only the Auſtrians and the army of the empire to cope with, the Empreſs-queen could not hope for much from a continuance of the war: Yet her pride would not ſuffer her to condeſcend to offer terms of peace; therefore her armies as uſual took the field. Count Daun put himſelf at the head of the Auſtrian army in Sileſia, where he was oppoſed by the King of Pruſſia. Prince Henry of Pruſſia commanded in Saxony, where he had to deal with the army of the Empire, reinforced by a conſiderable body of the Auſtrians. This army was repulſed at the opening of the campaign by the prince's well-timed operations and compelled to abandon their poſts, and fly into Franconia and Bohemia. The King of Pruſſia, having no enemy to diſtract his attention but count Daun, eaſily laid ſiege to Schwednitz; the trenches againſt which were opened on the 8th of Auguſt. The day after the garriſon made a deſperate ſally; but were, after a ſmart action with the Pruſſians, obliged to retire without being able to damage any of the beſieger's works. After this nine batteries were erected within three hundred paces of the interior fortification of the town, which played night and day with great fury. Count Daun finding he could not prevent the King of Pruſſia laying ſiege to Schwednitz, detached general Laudohn with a large corps to attack the prince of Bevern, who lay encamped with a body of Pruſſians at Riechenbach. The Auſtrians were greatly ſuperior in number; but the Pruſſians making a moſt vigorous ſtand, gave the King of Pruſſia, who was informed of the action at its beginning, time to come to their aſſiſtance, which he did with a ſtrong body of cavalry, dragoons and huſſars, and falling furiouſly on the Auſtrians in flank, totally routed them with great loſs, and made one thouſand five hundred priſoners. After this defeat count Daun took no meaſures for the relief

of Schweidnitz; and the governor of that fortreſs hearing of the unfortunate event, deſired to capitulate; but the King of Pruſſia refuſed to accept of any conditions, except ſurrendering at diſcretion: Upon which general Guaſco, the commandant, reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. The Pruſſians renewed their fire with redoubled vigour, by which conſiderable damage was done to the town in many places. At length, on the 8th of October at night, the beſiegers ſprung a mine, about which they had been employed ſeveral weeks, which took away part of the rampart, made a conſiderable breach in the covered way, and filled the ditch with rubbiſh. The governor ſeeing every preparation making for a general aſſault at the breach, beat a parley in the morning, and ſurrendered with his whole garriſon, amounting to ten thouſand three hundred and three men, priſoners of war. In this memorable and deſtructive ſiege above five thouſand men were ſlain. The Auſtrians computed their own loſs at two thouſand men, and the Pruſſians allowed theirs to exceed three. The Auſtrians ſay, that many circumſtances concurred at the ſame time to haſten the reduction of Schwednitz. In the firſt place, they ſay, the garriſon had bread left but for five days. 2. A bomb from the enemy falling on the powder magazine at fort Jauernick, blew up that fort, with about two hundred ſoldiers and ſeveral officers. 3. By this accident the beſieged found themſelves deprived of their powder, having only enough left to laſt them about thirty hours, at their uſual rate of firing 4. A great part of their artillery was rendered unfit for ſervice; the touch-holes of ſome of the cannon being wide enough to admit one's whole hand. 5. The garriſon were in want of money, inſomuch that they had contracted debts in Schweidnitz to the amount of thirteen thouſand florins. 6. The damage done in the works by the ſpringing of the mine. All theſe inconveniences united, together with the inaction of count Daun, they affirm, laid the garriſon under the neceſſity of capitulating.

In the mean time the army of the empire, in conjunction with the ſtrong body of Auſtrians, re-entered Saxony, and compelled prince Henry, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, to abandon ſeveral of the poſts he held there: Upon which the King of Pruſſia, on the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, left his army in Sileſia to the command of the prince of Bevern, and putting himſelf at the head of a large detachment, marched inſtantly to the aſſiſtance of his brother. But prince Henry before his arrival changed the ſcene; for on the 29th of October

October he vigorouſly attacked the enemies near Freyberg, and after an engagement of ſeveral hours, notwithſtanding his inferior force, gained a compleat victory over them, by which the town of Freyberg fell into his hands, together with five thouſand priſoners and thirty pieces of cannon. The generals Stolberg and Haddick, who commanded the Imperial and Auſtrian armies, imputed their defeat to the treachery of one of their generals, named Brunian, who, they ſaid, gave the Pruſſians intelligence of whatever paſſed in their military councils. As ſoon as the King of Pruſſia entered Saxony, he detached a large body of troops into Bohemia, where they exacted very heavy contributions, deſtroyed ſeveral magazines, and ſpread an alarm throughout the whole kingdom. His Pruſſian Majeſty then artfully propoſed to the court of Vienna, a ſuſpenſion of arms for the winter between their reſpective armies in Saxony and Sileſia. The court of Vienna agreed to it, perhaps not a little owing to the irruption he made into Bohemia. Accordingly the Auſtrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters; but no ſooner had they done ſo, than a body of Pruſſians under general Kleiſt marched into Franconia, where they raiſed heavy contributions and numbers of recruits; in which they had a great advantage of the Auſtrians, for the latter could pretend to do nothing but according to law; whereas the former, being in ſome degree declared rebels by the empire, were under no obligation to obſerve its laws. In the mean time the Imperial and Auſtrian generals could neither aſſemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, until they got freſh orders from Vienna; another advantage, which has often been of great ſervice to the King of Pruſſia, and was upon this occaſion the cauſe of his troops having an opportunity to ſpread themſelves, without oppoſition, over almoſt the whole circle of Franconia, where they raiſed large ſums of money; for from the city of Nuremberg alone they inſiſted on three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off ſome of the magiſtrates as hoſtages for the reſt. Beſide which, they carried off from thence twelve fine braſs cannon, and ſix waggon loads of arms and warlike ſtores. Even the city of Ratiſbon itſelf began to apprehend a viſit, and therefore applied to baron Plotho, the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect, who frankly told them, that if they refuſed to pay the contribution, that his maſter's troops ſhould demand, when they came to pay them a viſit, they muſt expect to be compelled by force; but he had, before the Pruſ-

ſians entered Franconia, declared to the diet in ſubſtance as follows:

'That as all his maſter's declarations to the ſtates of the empire had produced no effect, he was now reſolved to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Auſtrian army; and was accordingly marching three different corps into the empire; one of which had already entered Franconia, the ſecond was taking the route of Swabia, and the third would paſs through Bavaria; and that they would every where conduct themſelves according to the exigencies of war.'

Upon this ſome of the ſtates of the empire ſecretly ſollicited a neutrality, which the King of Pruſſia inſtantly granted. Then the reſt deſired to purchaſe their ſecurity upon the ſame terms, which were granted likewiſe; and their troops were directly ordered to retire to their reſpective countries in order to be diſbanded; great numbers of which afterwards entered into the ſervice of the Pruſſians. Thus was the Empreſs-queen, by one well-conducted ſtratagem, deprived of the only aſſiſtance from which ſhe had reaſon to expect fidelity. At this inſtant the courts of London and Peterſburg redoubled their efforts towards effecting a reconciliation between her and the King of Pruſſia. The unhopeful proſpect which the face of her affairs preſented, induced her haughty and ſtubborn ſpirit to accept of the mediation. Conferences were accordingly opened at Hubertſburg; but her miniſter made his demands in ſuch an imperious tone, that had he not been ſoftened by the indefatigable exertion of Britiſh and Ruſſian influence, the negociation would have abruptly broke off. However, the province of Sileſia, which was the great object of the war, is to remain with the King of Pruſſia as well as the county of Glatz, both of which are extremely fertile, rich, and yield large revenues. In lieu of which the Empreſs-queen obtains ſome inconſiderable places, which are annexed in ſituation to ſome of her dominions in the Netherlands. To this peace the court of Dreſden acceded, in order to obtain ſome trifling indemnification for Saxony.

The French opened the campaign againſt the allies in the month of March. About four thouſand of their garriſon at Gottingen, marched out of that place, and on the 9th of March attacked ſome of the allied poſts with tolerable ſucceſs, obliging the occupiers to retire with precipitation. Soon after a ſkirmiſh happened between a detachment of the allies and this of the garriſon, in which the latter were worſted,

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and from that time did not preſume to ſtir out of their walls. In the month of April the hereditary prince of Brunſwick was detached from the allies to lay ſiege to the ſtrong caſtle of Arenſburg, which was of great ſervice to the French, as by it they preſerved a communication between their army on the Rhine, and their garriſons at Caſſel and Gottingen. On the 18th the Prince opened his batteries againſt it, and next day he compelled the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and forty men, to ſurrender priſoners of war. Theſe operations ſtimulated the French court to attempt ſomething of conſequence: Accordingly their grand army, which was this year under the command of the marſhals d'Etrees and Soubize, was aſſembled in the month of J[illegible] and it was deſigned to attack prince Ferdinand the fir[illegible] But the ſnare, which they were preparing for [illegible] into themſelves; for on the 24th of June he to[illegible]s to ſurprize and defeat them in their camp at Gr[illegible]. General Luckner attacked the marquis de [illegible] their rear, who was poſted at Cariſdorf to cover th[illegible]ght wing of the French: At the ſame time general Sporcken charged him in flank, and obliged him to retire with ſmall loſs; and the two Hanoverian generals continued their march, in order to take the camp of Graibenſtein both in flank and rear: Lord Granby with the reſerve croſſed the Dymel at Warbourg, and poſſeſſed himſelf of an eminence oppoſite to Fuſtenwald, and was prepared to fall upon the enemy's left wing: Prince Ferdinand paſſed the Dymel, marched through the Langenberg, and came upon the center of the French which ocupied an advantageous eminence. In this critical ſituation, the enemy ſtruck their tents and retreated. M. de Stainville preſerved their whole army by throwing himſelf into the woods of Wilhemſtahl, and ſacrificing the flower of his infantry to cover the retreat. The grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, and the regiment of Aquitaine, ſuffered ſeverely in this action. M. Reideſel intirely routed the regiment of Fitz-James's horſe. The firſt battalion of Britiſh grenadiers belonging to colonel Beckwith's brigade diſtinguiſhed itſelf extremely. Lord Granby behaved with his uſual intrepidity, and had a great ſhare in the victory. The loſs of the allies amounted in all to ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven men, of whom four hundred and thirty-ſeven were Britiſh. The French retreated under the cannon of Caſſel; and a great part of their army afterwards paſſed haſtily over the Fulda. They owned the loſs of near nine hundred men killed and wounded; and it appeared, that the number of

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their priſoners amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two. After the action, prince Ferdinand occupied Fritzlar, Feltzberg, Lohr, and Gudenſberg.

While the French lay encamped under the cannon of Caſſel, prince Ferdinand thought it would be dangerous to attack them in that ſituation, therefore the only meaſure he could purſue was to diſtreſs them, by cutting off their communication with the Rhine and Franckfort; and having received advice that m. de Rochambeau had aſſembled a corps near Hombourg, he ordered that officer to be attacked on the 1ſt of July by lord Granby. Elliot's regiment made the firſt charge, and was in great danger; till colonel Harvey, at the head of the Blues, paſſed the village of Hombourg on full gallop, overthrew every thing in his way, and came ſeaſonably to his reſcue. Theſe two gallant regiments maintained an unequal combat till the arrival of the infantry, when the enemy retreated in the utmoſt hurry. The loſs of the allies fell ſhort of a hundred men; but that of the French was conſiderable.

On the 23d of July a body of Hanoverian and Heſſian troops, commanded by the generals Zaſtrow and Gilſen, defeated part of the right wing of the French army, intrenched at Luttenburg under count de Luſace. The allies marched through the river Fulda up to the waiſts, they then clambered up a mountain, took four redoubts, and drove the enemy from thoſe intrenchments. A regiment of Saxon horſe was totally deſtroyed, and one thouſand one hundred men were made priſoners, and thirteen pieces of cannon were taken; but this gallant action produced no conſequences, for both armies continued in their reſpective ſituations. However, by theſe exploits it is certain the French were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs; for an army, which had been formed early in Flanders this year, under the prince of Conde, was now obliged to march to their aſſiſtance; but before they received this reinforcement, they abandoned Gottingen, after deſtroying the fortifications, and collected themſelves within a ſmall ſpace round Caſſel. While the prince of Conde was on his march, in order to join the marſhals d'Etrees and Soubize, he was on the 30th of Auguſt attacked by the hereditary prince near Freidberg. At firſt the French were driven from the ſteep mountain of Johonnes-berg into the plain below by the vigorous charge of the allies; but the grand army of France under the marſhals d'Etrees and Soubiſe having ſent a conſiderable reinforcement, the attack was renewed with vivacity and ſucceſs. The allies, repulſed in their turn, were obliged

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to repaſs the Wetter. Here the hereditary prince was wounded in the hip, whilſt he was endeavouring to rally his diſordered troops, with an alacrity which is mentioned greatly to his advantage. Prince Ferdinand, better informed of the ſituation of the French army than the hereditary prince, marched with a conſiderable part of his forces, and came in time to prevent the enemy from puſhing their advantage. Colonel Clinton was wounded; yet he continued with the gallant hereditary prince two hours afterwards; and did not diſcover his misfortune, till the prince deſired him to carry an account of the battle to prince Ferdinand, which obliged him to acknowledge that he was rendered incapable of executing his commands. The loſs of the enemy according to their own eſtimate, did not exceed five hundred men in killed and wounded; whilſt they calculated that of the allies at about ſix hundred killed and fifteen hundred priſoners. A letter from prince Ferdinand's head-quarters mentioned only the loſs of one thouſand three hundred and ninety-eight men, together with ten pieces of cannon. The French, accuſtomed to defeat, demonſtrated their ſenſe of this victory by public rejoicings. The prince of Conde afterwards effected his junction with the French army, which now began to act on the offenſive. On the 20th of September they made themſelves maſters of a redoubt and mill, on the left bank of the river Ohm, at the foot of the mountain of Amoeneburg. Next day they reſolved to attack the caſtle of Amoeneburg, which was garriſoned by a battalion of the Britiſh legion, and a detachment of two hundred men from the reſerve of the allied army. For this purpoſe, under favour of a thick fog, they opened a trench, and eſtabliſhed their batteries againſt it. The ſtone bridge over the Ohm at the Brucker-Muhl, was guarded by two hundred men of Hardenberg's regiment, the greateſt part of which were poſted in a ſmall intrenchment on the right of the bridge. The enemy were alſo in poſſeſſion of a ſmall one beyond the bridge. About theſe two poſts there commenced a warm and bloody action on the 21ſt, which continued from ſix in the morning till dark night. A fire of cannon and ſmall arms was kept up for fourteen hours on both ſides with the utmoſt ſeverity and the moſt determined reſolution. There was no attempt on either part to paſs the bridge. Freſh troops were reciprocally ſent to ſupport the poſts which each maintained on the oppoſite banks of the river, as faſt as the ſeveral reliefs had expended their ammunition. The mill occupied by the enemy afforded rather more ſhelter to them, than the redoubt did to the allies. Hiſtory

ſtory hardly furniſhes an inſtance of ſuch an obſtinate diſpute. The execution of near fifty pieces of cannon was confined to the ſpace of near four hundred paces. The fire of the artillery and muſquetry was not intermitted one ſingle moment.

On the part of the allies ſeventeen complete battalions were employed, at different times, chiefly under the command of the marquis of Granby and general Zaſtrow. The total loſs of the allies amounted to near eight hundred men. The French acknowledged the loſs of three hundred killed and near eight hundred wounded. Next day the caſtle of Amoeneburg ſurrendered, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war, to the number of eleven officers and five hundred and fifty-three private men.

Notwithſtanding this bloody encounter, prince Ferdinand determined to cloſe the campaign with ſome advantage of importance; and with this view, he, with the main body of his army, kept the French on the alarm, while he detached prince Frederick of Brunſwick to lay ſiege to Caſſel. This was the only place of real importance which the French held; therefore if that could be retaken from them, they had ſcarce one ſingle advantage to boaſt of ſince their armies entered Germany in 1756. The ſiege commenced on the 16th of October, and was carried on with great alacrity. The garriſon ſeveral times ſallied out, but without being able to interrupt the approaches. The ſiege and blockade were ſo cloſe, that it was impoſſible to get any thing into the town; where proviſions being ſcarce, the garriſon in a ſhort time was reduced to great extremities. In the mean time prince Ferdinand covered the operations in ſo effectual a manner, that the French did not attempt to relieve the place. At length, on the firſt of November, the garriſon ſurrendered, being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs by the want of proviſions.

The firſt act of hoſtility on the part of Great-Britain, this year againſt Spain, was the taking a large Spaniſh ſtore-ſhip, of eight hundred tons burthen, laden with cannon, powder, ſmall arms, and ordnance ſtores for la Guayra. Captain Ourry, in the Actæon, under the orders of admiral Rodney, fell in with, and took her off Tobago. Captain Elphinſton, in the Richmond, March 3, brought into the Madeiras a Spaniſh ſhip, called the Il Caſtil de la Marr, in her paſſage to the Weſt-Indies. The Captain offered ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling for her ranſom. She had on board one hundred tons of Campeachy logwood, two thouſand raw hides, and about ſeventy thouſand dollars, beſides indigo, coffee, and bale goods. This

This was followed by a brave action of Captain Joſeph Mead, in the Fowey. On the 13th of March he met with the La Ventura, a Spaniſh frigate of twenty-ſix guns, twelve pounders, on one deck, and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Don Joſeph de las Caſas, on her return from the Havannah, from whence ſhe had been ſent with money for the payment of the Spaniſh King's troops at Porto Rico and St. Domingo. The Fowey had only twenty-four guns, nine pounders, and but one hundred and thirty four men, two of whom were ſick, and incapable of ſervice. However, Captain Mead began the attack, at about ſix or ſeven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The engagement laſted about an hour and an half, when both ſhips ſheered off to repair the damages they had received. At ten at night Captain Mead bore down a ſecond time upon the Ventura, and exchanged a broadſide with her; but the darkneſs preventing him from forming a ſatisfactory judgment of her motions and diſtance, he made ſail to windward, and kept his men at quarters, to obſerve her as cloſely as poſſible during the night.

On the dawn of the next morning, the engagement was renewed for the third time, when the Fowey went as near to the enemy as ſhe could do, without falling on board of her. The diſpute was long and well maintained; but at laſt, about half an hour after eight, the La Ventura ſtruck her colours. She was at this time reduced almoſt to a wreck, and had received ſeveral ſhots between wind and water, one of which was afterwards diſcovered to have penetrated into her magazine; and indeed the Fowey was herſelf ſo much damaged in her maſts and rigging, that ſhe was obliged to undergo a thorough repair at Jamaica. When the Ventura ſtruck, neither ſhip had a boat that could ſwim, or tackle left to hoiſt one out with. However, Captain Mead contrived, by nailing a tarpauſin over the ſhot-holes of a ſmall boat, to get a midſhipman and ſix men on board the prize, and to receive the Captain of the ſhip, the Captain of the ſoldiers, and ſix or ſeven more priſoners on board his own ſhip. The midſhipman was obliged to employ good uſage, and ſome art, to induce the Spaniards to aſſiſt him in bringing the Ventura into Port-Royal harbour.

In the above action, the La Ventura loſt about forty or fifty men. The Fowey had but ten killed, and twenty-four wounded; two of the latter died ſoon after their wounds. The lieutenant, two mates, and twenty private ſailors were in the harbour. The maſter got drunk, and diſappointed

the Captain of his aſſiſtance, and the gunner was wounded in the firſt part of the engagement. Under all theſe diſadvantages, the capture of ſo ſtrong a frigate may be juſtly reckoned among the gallant actions of the war. This Capt. Mead, when he was an inferior officer, ſerved under Commodore Moyſtyn, and was the inventor of a machine for cleanſing a ſhip's bottom at ſea, known to the ſailors by the name of Mead's Hog. While he commanded the Crown ſtore-ſhip, he gave repeated proofs of his diligence and conduct. He is likewiſe the author of, "An eſſay on currents at ſea," for which he received the thanks of the lords of the admiralty.

On the 21ſt of May, Captain Sawyer, in the Active frigate, and Captain Pownal, in the Favourite ſloop, took off Cape St. Vincent, and carried into Gibraltar, the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, of twenty-ſix or twenty-eight guns, bound from Lima to Cadiz, having on board two milions ſix hundred dollars, regiſtered for the court of Madrid; the moſt fortunate capture which had been made during all the war.

Captain Crichton, in the Brilliant privateer, in company with the York privateer of Briſtol, a ſloop of 10 three-pounders, ſilenced a fort upon Cape Finiſterre, mounting 2 eighteen-pounders and 8 nine-pounders; they ſtruck the Spaniſh and hoiſted Engliſh colours, ſunk two veſſels in the harbour, and brought away four others, loaden with wine for the Spaniſh fleet at Ferrol: This gallant action was effected with the loſs of but two men killed and twelve wounded.

Five tranſports, being part of the ſecond diviſion from New-York for the Havannah, having on board three hundred and fifty regulars of Anſtruther's regiment, were taken, July 21, by two French ſhips of the line, three frigates, and ſix ſail of brigantines and ſloops, near the paſſage between Maya Guannas and the north Caicos. Two days after, the Pallas, captain Clements, attacked two Spaniſh chebecs at the entrance of the bay of Cadiz, one of which was of 34 guns, and the other of 24, and obliged them both to take ſhelter, with a conſiderable loſs, under the cannon of their own forts.

The ſame month, the Cheſterfield, of 44 guns, and four tranſports, ran on Cayo Conſite, the entrance of the Bahama ſtreights, on the Cuba ſide, an hour before day-light, and was ſtranded; but all the ſeamen and troops got on ſhore, and were afterwards tranſported ſafe to the Havannah.

In the mean while the new miniſtry were determined to reduce the Havannah; for which purpoſe a formidable armament was ſent out under the earl of Albermarle and admiral ſir George

George Pococke, who having contributed by his valour towards that ſovereignty which his country had obtained in the Eaſt Indies, was now choſen to extend it's empire and it's honour in the Weſt.

They ſailed from Portſmouth on the 5th of March, the day on which the Grenades were ſurrendered. A fleet had ſailed from Martinico under the command of that ſpirited and intelligent officer, ſir James Douglas, in order to reinforce them. The ſquadrons very happily met, without delay or diſperſion, at Cape Nicholas, the north-weſt point of Hiſpaniola, on the 27th of May. After this junction, the armament amounted to nineteen ſhips of the line; eighteen ſmall veſſels of war; and near one hundred and fifty tranſports, which conveyed about ten thouſand land forces. A ſupply of four thouſand had been ordered from New-York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be ſuppoſed able to commence their operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his courſe to the Havannah. The firſt and moſt obvious was the common way, to keep to the ſouth of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons. But this, though by much the ſafeſt, would prove by far the moſt tedious paſſage; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize would probably depend upon it's being in forwardneſs before the hurricane ſeaſon came on. He therefore reſolved to run along the northern ſhore of that iſland, purſuing his courſe from eaſt to weſt through a narrow paſſage, not leſs than ſeven hundred miles in length, called the Old Streights of Bahama.

This paſſage, through almoſt the whole of it's extent, is bounded on the right and left by the moſt dangerous ſands and ſhoals, which render the navigation ſo hazardous, that it has uſually been avoided by ſingle and ſmall veſſels. There was no pilot in the fleet whoſe experience could be depended on to conduct them ſafely through it. The Admiral, however, determined on this paſſage; and being provided with a good chart of lord Anſon's, he reſolved to truſt to his own ſagacity, conduct, and vigilance, to carry ſafely through thoſe ſtreights a fleet of near two hundred ſail. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldneſs from the imputation of temerity. A veſſel was ſent to reconnoitre the paſſage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead; ſome frigates followed; ſloops and boats were ſtationed on the right and left on the ſhallows, with well adapted ſignals both for the day and the

night. The fleet moved on in ſeven diviſions; and being favoured with pleaſant weather, and ſecured by the admirable diſpoſitions which were made, they, without the ſmalleſt loſs or interruption, got clear through this perilous paſſage on the 5th of June, having entered it on the 27th of May.

The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of ſo many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba: St. Jago, ſituated at the ſouth-eaſt part of the Iſland, has that title: But the Havannah, though the ſecond in rank, is the firſt in wealth, ſize, and importance. The harbour, upon which it ſtands, is, in every reſpect, one of the beſt in the Weſt-Indies, and perhaps in the world. It is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, forming three large creeks; and is ſufficient, in extent and depth, to contain a thouſand ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathom water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. In this port the rich fleets from the ſeveral parts of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, called the Galleons and the Flota, aſſemble, before they finally ſet out on their voyage for Europe.

This circumſtance has rendered the Havannah one of the moſt opulent, flouriſhing, and populous cities in that part of the world. Great care was taken to fortify and ſecure a place, which, by being the center of ſo rich a commerce, would naturally become the faireſt mark for the attempts of an enemy. The narrow entrance into this harbour is ſecured on one ſide by a very ſtrong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land: On the other, it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itſelf, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and oppoſite to the Moro fort, is ſurrounded by a good rampart, flanked with baſtions, and covered with a ditch.

The Spaniards, who had been for ſome time preparing for war, had formed a conſiderable navy in the Weſt Indies: This fleet, which was near twenty ſail, moſtly of the line, lay at this time in the baſon of the Havannah; but they had not, it ſeems, when our armament appeared before the port, received, any authentic account from their court concerning the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations.

Whether the Spaniards were rendered inactive by the want of inſtructions; whether all their ſhips were not in fighting condition; or whatever elſe was the cauſe, this fleet lay quiet in the harbour. If ſome of the above reaſons did not oppoſe, it may be very rationally ſuppoſed, that their beſt way would

would have been to come out and fight our ſquadron. They were not very far from an equality; and though the iſſue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them, yet a battle tolerably maintained would have much diſabled our armament, and perhaps have been a means of preventing the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize. The loſs of their fleet in this way might poſſibly have ſaved the city; but, the city once taken, nothing could poſſibly ſave the fleet. It is true, they much truſted, and not wholly without reaſon, to the ſtrength of the place, and to thoſe aſtoniſhing difficulties which attend all military operations that are drawn out to any length in this unhealthy climate. In other reſpects, they were very far from being deficient in proper meaſures for their defence. They had laid a ſtrong boom acroſs the mouth of the harbour; and almoſt the only uſe they made of their ſhipping, in the defence of the place, was to ſink three of them behind this boom.

When all things were in readineſs for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the weſtward, in order to draw the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended to land upon that ſide; while commodore Keppel and Capt. Harvey, commanding a detachment of the ſquadron, approached the ſhore to the eaſtward of the harbour, and effected a landing there in the utmoſt order, without any oppoſition, having previouſly ſilenced a ſmall fort, which might have given ſome diſturbance.

The principal body of the army was deſtined to act upon this ſide. It was divided into two corps; one of which was advanced a conſiderable way in the country, towards the ſouth-eaſt of the harbour, in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure our parties employed in watering and procuring proviſions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack on Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the Engliſh were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel. To make a diverſion in favour of this grand operation, a detachment, under colonel How, was encamped to the weſtward of the town. This body cut off the communication between the town and the country, and kept the enemy's attention divided. Such was the diſpoſition of the land forces during the whole ſiege, and it was impoſſible to find a better,

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The hardſhips which the Engliſh army ſuſtained, in carrying on the ſiege of the Moro, are almoſt inexpreſſible: The earth was every where ſo thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themſelves in their approaches. There was no ſpring or river near them; it was neceſſary to bring water from a great diſtance; and ſo precarious and ſcanty was this ſupply, that they were obliged to have recourſe to water from the ſhips. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods; the artillery was to be dragged for a vaſt way over a rough rocky ſhore. Several dropped down dead with heat, thirſt, and fatigue. But ſuch was the reſolution of our people, ſuch the happy and perfect unanimity which ſubſiſted between the land and the ſea forces, that no difficulties, no hardſhips ſlackened for a moment the operations againſt this important, ſtrong, and well-defended place. Batteries were, in ſpite of all difficulties, raiſed againſt the Moro, and along the hill upon which this fort ſtands, in order to drive the enemy's ſhips deeper into the harbour, and thus to prevent them from moleſting our approaches.

The enemy's fire, and that of the beſiegers, was for a long time pretty near on an equality, and it was kept up with great vivacity on both ſides. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town, from which they were recruited and ſupplied: They relied ſolely on their works; they made a ſally with ſufficient reſolution, and a conſiderable force, but with little ſucceſs. They were obliged to retire, with a loſs of two or three hundred men left dead on the ſpot.

Whilſt theſe works were thus vigorouſly puſhed on ſhore, the navy, not contented with the great aſſiſtance which they had before lent to every part of the land ſervice, reſolved to try ſomething further, and which was more directly within their own province, towards the reduction of the Moro. Accordingly, the day the batteries on ſhore were opened, three of their greateſt ſhips, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, under the conduct of Capt. Harvey, laid their broadſides againſt the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great conſtancy. This firing, one of the warmeſt ever ſeen, continued for ſeven hours without intermiſſion. But in this cannonade the Moro, which was ſituated upon a very high and ſteep rock, had great advantages over the ſhips, and was proof againſt all their efforts. Beſides, the fire from the oppoſite fort of Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them extremely.

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Inſomuch that, in order to ſave the ſhips from abſolute deſtruction, they were obliged at length, and unwillingly, to bring them all off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as the ſhips were very much ſhattered in this long and unequal conteſt. They had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded; and one of the captains, captain Gooſtrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer, was alſo killed. The captains Harvey and Burnett gained, with better fortune, an equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole operation.

This bold attempt, though it had very little effect upon the works on that ſide of the fort which the ſhips attacked, was nevertheleſs of conſiderable ſervice. The enemy's attention being diverted to that ſide, the other was a good deal neglected: Our fire was poured in the mean-time with redoubled fury from the batteries; it became much ſuperior to that of the enemy, and did no ſmall damage to their works. But the moment the Spaniards were releaſed from their attention to our men of war, they returned again to the eaſtward, facing the fort: Their defence was revived with as much vigour as before; on both ſides a conſtant unremitted fire was kept up, with a fierce emulation, for ſeveral days. It now became evident, that the reduction of this fortreſs was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the Engliſh valour been ſo well matched: Here was at length an adverſary worthy of our arms, and our whole military ſkill and ſpirit was put to the ſevereſt trial.

In the midſt of this ſharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery againſt the fort unfortunately took fire; and being chiefly conſtructed of timber and faggots dried by the intenſe heats and continual cannonade, the flames ſoon got a head, and became too powerful for oppoſition. The battery was almoſt wholly conſumed. The labour of ſix hundred men, for ſeventeen days, was deſtroyed in a moment; and all was to begin a-new.

This was a mortifying ſtroke. It was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the other hardſhips of the ſiege were become by this time almoſt inſupportable. The ſickneſs, ſomething of which the troops had brought with them from Martinico, and which increaſed very much in this unwholeſome country and rigorous ſervice, had reduced the army to half its number, at the ſame time that it doubled the fatigue of thoſe few who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of ſtrength. Five thouſand ſoldiers were at one time ſick of various diſtempers;

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no leſs than three thouſand of the ſeamen were in the ſame miſerable condition. A total want of good proviſions increaſed their diſeaſe, and retarded their recovery. The deficiency of water was of all their grievances the greateſt, and extremely aggravated all the reſt of their ſufferings. The procuring from a diſtance this wretched ſupply, ſo unequal to their wants, exhauſted all their force. Beſides, as the ſeaſon advanced, the proſpect of ſucceeding grew fainter. The hearts of the moſt ſanguine ſunk within them, whilſt they beheld this gallant army waſting away by diſeaſes; and they could not avoid trembling for that noble fleet, which had rid ſo long on an open ſhore, and which muſt to all appearance be expoſed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane ſeaſon ſhould come on before the reduction of the place. A thouſand languiſhing and impatient looks were caſt out for the reinforcement from North America. None however as yet appeared; and the exhauſted army was left to its own endeavours. Many fell into deſpair, and died, overcome with fatigue, anguiſh and diſappointment.

But in the midſt of theſe cruel delays and diſtreſſes, the ſteadineſs of the commanders infuſed life and activity into their troops, and rouſed them to incredible exertions. The rich prize, which was before them; the ſhame of returning home baffled; and even the ſtrenuous reſiſtance which was made by the enemy; all theſe motives were ſtrengthened by their intereſt, their honour, their ambition, and obliged them to exert every power of body and mind; none could imagine that it was this reduced and ſlender army, by which theſe aſtoniſhing efforts were made, and this extenſive ſphere of duty ſo perfectly filled. New batteries aroſe in the place of the old; the fire ſoon became equal, and then ſuperior to that of the enemy. They by degrees ſilenced the cannon of the fort, beat to pieces all the upper works, and made at length a lodgment in the covered way. Their hopes were now become more lively. Some days before they had gained this grand advantage, the Jamaica fleet appeared in its paſſage to Europe, with ſeveral conveniencies for the ſiege. Not many days after this they received a conſiderable part of the New York reinforcement. Some of the tranſports in their paſſage through the old Bahama Streights were loſt, but the men were ſaved on the adjacent iſlands.

Theſe favourable events infuſed double life into their operations, in this advanced ſtate of the ſiege; but a new and grand difficulty appeared, juſt at the ſeeming accompliſhment of their work. An immenſe ditch yawned before them; for the

the greater part cut in the ſolid rock; eighty foot deep, and forty foot wide. To fill it up by any means appeared impoſſible. Difficult as the mining was in thoſe circumſtances, it was the only expedient. It might have been an impracticable one, if fortunately a thin ridge of the rock had not been left, in order to cover the ditch towards the ſea. On this narrow ridge, the miners wholly uncovered, but with very little loſs paſſed the ditch, and ſoon buried themſelves in the wall.

It now became viſible to the governor of the Havannah, that the fort muſt be ſpeedily reduced if left to its own ſtrength. At all events ſomething muſt be done in this exigence for its immediate relief. Accordingly, before break of day, a body of twelve hundred men, moſtly compoſed of the country militia, Mulattoes and Negroes, were tranſported acroſs the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three attacks upon our poſts. But the ordinary guards, though ſurpriſed, defended themſelves ſo reſolutely, that the Spaniards made little impreſſion, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The poſts attacked were ſpeedily reinforced, and the enemy, who were little better than a diſorderly rabble, and not conducted by proper officers, fell into terror and confuſion. They were driven precipitately down the hill with great ſlaughter; ſome gained their boats; others were drowned; and they loſt in this well plann'd, but ill executed ſally, upwards of four hundred men.

This was the laſt effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a ſullen reſolution, and made no ſort of propoſal to capitulate. The mines at length did their buſineſs. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a breach, which though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The Engliſh troops, who were commanded on this moſt dangerous of all ſervices, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entred the fort, and formed themſelves with ſo much celerity, and with ſuch a ſpirited coolneſs of reſolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the aſſault an affair of great bloodſhed, aſtoniſhed at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred were ſlaughtered on the ſpot, or ran to the water, where they periſhed. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The ſecond in command, the marquis de Gonſales, fell whilſt he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people.

Don Lewis de Valaſco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with ſuch obſtinate bravery, ſeemed reſolved in this extremity to ſhare the ſame fate with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours. But ſeeing that his companions were fled from him, and diſdaining to retire or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his ſword to the conquerors. The Engliſh wept with pity and admiration over that unfortunate valour, which had occaſioned them ſo many toilſome hours, and coſt them ſo many lives.

Thus the Moro came into our poſſeſſion, after a vigorous ſtruggle, of forty-four days, from the time the firſt operations had been begun againſt it. No time was loſt to profit of this great advantage, notwithſtanding that the ſickneſs ſtill raged like a peſtilence, and that many new and great works were to be undertaken. Not only the fire of the fort was turned againſt the town; but a line of batteries was erected along the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the fort ſtands. By theſe batteries, which mounted three and forty pieces of cannon, and twelve mortars, almoſt the whole eaſtern ſide of the city was commanded from one end to the other. Preparations for an attack were alſo made, and batteries erected to the weſtward of the town, which on that ſide had hitherto been only watched. Some time before this, a part of the ſecond diviſion of the troops from North America had arrived; part had been taken by ſome French men of war, as before related; but thoſe who eſcaped, came very ſeaſonably, and were of ſignal ſervice.

When thoſe perparations were perfectly ready to take effect, lord Albemarle, by a meſſenger, repreſented to the governor the irreſiſtible force of the attack, which he was ready to make upon the town; but which, in order to avoid unneceſſary effuſion of blood, he was willing to ſuſpend, that the Spaniards might have leiſure to capitulate. The governor in a reſolute, but a civil manner returned for anſwer, that he defend the place committed to him to the laſt extremity, would and began inſtantly to fire.

To convince the governor that the menaces employed were not an empty boaſt, lord Albemarle the very next morning ordered a general fire from the batteries, which was poured from all ſides, with ſuch continued and irreſiſtible fury, that in ſix hours almoſt all the enemy's guns were ſilenced. To the inexpreſſible joy of the fleet and army, flags of truce appeared from every quarter of the town. A capitulation enſued, in which the eſtabliſhed religion, the former laws, and

and private property were ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men had the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. A diſtrict of an hundred and eighty miles weſtward of the Havannah was yielded along with the town. The Spaniards ſtruggled a long time to ſave the men of war; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmiſſible. They alſo made ſome attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this was no leſs eſſential to the completeneſs of the conqueſt, and was ſteadily refuſed. After two days altercation, they gave up theſe points, and the Engliſh troops were put in poſſeſſion of the Havannah on the 14th of Auguſt, when they had been before it two months and eight days.

Although we have not purſued in exact order all the detail of the more minute operations of this memorable ſiege, we have dwelt on it a longer time, than we have on our plan generally allowed to ſuch tranſactions; becauſe it was, without queſtion, in itſelf the moſt conſiderable, and in its conſequences, the moſt deciſive conqueſt we have made ſince the beginning of the war; and becauſe in no operation were the courage, ſteadineſs, and perſeverance of the Britiſh troops, and the conduct of their leaders more conſpicuous. The acquiſition of this place united in itſelf all the advantages which can be acquired in war. It was a military advantage of the higheſt claſs; it was equal to the greateſt naval victory, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and in the plunder it equaled the produce of a national ſubſidy. Nine ſail of the enemy's ſhips of the line, ſome of the fineſt veſſels in the world, were taken, with four frigates. Three of their capital ſhips had been, as already mentioned, ſunk by themſelves at the beginning of the ſiege; two more were in forwardneſs on the ſtocks, and theſe were deſtroyed by the Engliſh. The enemy, on this occaſion, loſt a whole fleet. In ready money, in the tobacco collected at the Havannah on account of the King of Spain, and in other valuable merchandizes, the booty did not perhaps fall ſhort of three millions ſterling.

So lucrative a conqueſt had never before been made. But this immenſe capture, though it enriched individuals, contributed nothing directly to the public ſervice. However, it might be ſaid to contribute ſomething to it indirectly; by increaſing the ſtock of the nation, and ſupplying that prodigious drain of treaſure, which for ſeveral years had been made from this kingdom for foreign ſubſidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for ſuch

pecuniary ſupplies, with which the uncommon ſucceſſes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithſtanding the increaſe of trade, which has been uniformly progreſſive for the laſt three years. It has in a looſe way been computed, the ſucceſs of our arms in the Eaſt Indies, independently of the great increaſe of valuable merchandize, (which uſed to be formerly the ſole profit and advantage of the Eaſt India commerce) has brought into England, during the war, near ſix millions in treaſure and jewels.

As ſoon as the news of a rupture with Spain arrived at the Eaſt Indies, a reſolution was taken to reduce the Manilla. This is the ſeat of the Spaniſh government over the Philippine iſlands, where a prodigious lucrative trade is carried on, by the ſtationary ſhips from Acapulcha, over the Pacific ſea, to the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. The troops collected for this expedition were only a part of that victorious army which had ruined the French in India, and ſtruck terror through the extenſive coaſt of Coromandel. To theſe there were joined ſome Indian auxiliaries, furniſhed by the gentlemen of Madraſs, and even two companies of French, who had enliſted in the company's ſervice, after the ruin of their own affairs by the reduction of Pondicherry. Some hundreds of unarm'd Laſcars were likewiſe retained to aſſiſt the engineers in working the artillery, &c. They ſet ſail for this expedition on the firſt of Auguſt, under the command of general Draper and admiral Corniſh, captain Grant, with the ſea-horſe, being previouſly diſpatched, through the Streights of Malucca, to ſtop all veſſels that might be bound to Manilla, or diſpatched from any of our neighbouring ſettlements, to give notice of the deſign. Commodore Tiddyman had likewiſe ſailed with the firſt diviſion, under colonel Monſon, two days before, to prepare for their watering at Malucca. The two diviſions joined at Malucca on Auguſt the 19th, where a quantity of rattans being purchaſed, they were diſtributed among the ſhips, to make gabions ready for cover to the men when they were landed, and a conſiderable number were in great forwardneſs by the 27th, when they ſailed again for their ſecond ſtation, off the iſland of Timon: Here the neceſſary inſtructions were given, and ſignals agreed on for landing on the coaſt of Lucania. By September the 23d they came to an anchor in Manilla Bay, and found the Spaniards quite unprepared, as this viſit was not expected. That this fortunate circumſtance might be improved, they reſolved to loſe no time in attacking the port of Cavite, as had been firſt concerted, but to increaſe,

creaſe, as much as poſſible, the confuſion of the enemy, by proceeding directly to the grand object; not doubting but the conqueſt of Manilla would draw after it the reduction of all the Spaniſh ſettlements in this quarter. For this purpoſe they ſent a ſummons to the town on the next morning, in order to increaſe the governor's conſternation, while the admiral with the other officers took a view of the coaſt, that he might fix upon a proper place for landing the artillery and ſtores; and a deſcent was propoſed immediately; upon this the boats were aſſembled, in which the troops and marines embarked and advanced under the protection of Captain King, in the Argo; Captain Grant, in the Sea-horſe; and Captain Peighin, with the Seaford. The embarkation was form'd into three diviſions, cloſe under the ſterns of theſe frigates. The left diviſion was directed by Colonel Monſon, quarter-maſter-general; the center, by general Draper and lieutenant colonel Scot; the right, was under major More, an experienced officer. It had been agreed to land near a church and village, called Malata, oppoſite the left diviſion; and the other two, which at firſt ſeparated to amuſe the enemy, were ordered to join, at the proper ſignal, as ſoon as poſſible. About ſix in the evening they puſhed in a line for the ſhore, under the direction of the three captains, Parker, Kempenfelt, and Brereton; this laſt had the direction of the boats. The three advanced frigates kept up a briſk fire to the right and left, both to ſecure the troops from being taken in flank and diſperſe the enemy, who began to aſſemble in great numbers, both horſe and foot, and menaced the aſſailants with an appearance of oppoſition; but the fire having ſoon diſperſed them, they retired, and left a clear coaſt; however, many boats were daſhed in pieces by a prodigious ſwell of the ſea, which likewiſe damaged the arms and ammunition, but happily no lives were loſt; ſo that the troops formed on the beach, marched, and inſtantly took poſſeſſion of the village and church, where, after fixing out-poſts, they paſſed the whole night under arms, while the Spaniards contented themſelves with only burning part of their ſuburbs at Manilla; ſo effectually had they been ſurprized.

On the following day, a fort, called the Polveriſta, which the Spaniards had deſerted, was ſeized. This proved a moſt excellent place of cover for landing ſtores and ſecuring a communication with the ſquadron. Colonel Monſon was then detached with two hundred men to view the roads and approaches towards the city; in the courſe of this ſervice he occupied the large church of Hermita, about nine hundred

dred yards from the city. The prieſt's houſe was made into the head-quarters, and major More was haſtened up with the ſeventy-ninth regiment, to make good this poſt, which was of the utmoſt conſequence, both for it's ſtrength and the cover it afforded to the troops from the rainy ſeaſon, which had flooded the country ſooner than they expected, though periodical in theſe climates, and called by the ſailors, the Breaking of the Monſoons; becauſe theſe periodical rains are confined to an extent between the tropics, where the Monſoons or trade winds blow; but to return.

The ſwelling of the ſurf at the places of landing grew more dangerous, as the rains increaſed, ſo that the landing of artillery, &c. became very hazardous, and the remaining troops were put on ſhore with manifeſt peril and ſome loſs of men, among whom lieutenant Hardwick was drowned. But the courage and activity of the ſailors overcome all obſtacles; they got on ſhore part of the ſeapoys, ſome proviſions, with what ſtores were firſt wanted; which ſervice the officers in the fleet were indefatigable in forwarding, and captain Jocelyn was remarkably ſo. The marines were ſtill at the firſt poſt in Malata, in order to be near the Polveriſta, and keep open the communication, as alſo to guard the artillery and ſtores; they were likewiſe of uſe, as occaſion ſerved in the courſe of operations, both officers and men behaving remarkably well. The rains had now forced our troops under cover of houſes within reach of the enemies guns, which they began to fire with ſome ſucceſs, as the beſiegers advanced much nearer than was conſiſtent with the general rules of approach obſerved in a ſiege; but this is an inſtance both of ſpirit in the troops, and judgment in the commanders; as the moſt danger was to be apprehended from the inclemency of the ſeaſon, if either the men were expoſed or the operations retarded, by ſcrupulouſly adhering to the rules of war. The Spaniards ſeem to have apprehended this, and attempted to deprive them of ſhelter, in ſetting fire to more of the ſuburbs, but were prevented by a detachment of troops and engineers, under captain Fletcher, who having penetrated, under cover of the houſes, to St. Jago's church, near the ſea, and within three hundred yards of the town, gave ſo good a report of its advantageous ſituation, that a body of men were inſtantly poſted there, though almoſt contiguous to their baſtions. Theſe were ſoon fired upon by the enemy, but not with the perſeverance and ſpirit proper to diſlodge them; although a few men were killed and wounded.

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On the third day of landing, the admiral ſet on ſhore a battalion of ſeamen, who were commanded by captain Collins, of the Weymouth, captain Pitchford of the America, and captain Owery from the Panther; this brave corps of ſailors was ſtationed between the marines and regulars. All the other troops were now landed and put under cover; this precaution was ſcarce took before the Spaniards advanced out of the city, under the command of the chevalier Fagett, who puſhed on with four hundred men and two field-pieces, to a church a little to the right of that near the ſea, which our troops had ſeized the foregoing day, and began a cannonade on that flank of the poſt. Some of the ſeapoys were ſent to ſkirmiſh with them: They behaved very well, and were well ſupported by a detachment of regulars and one hundred ſeamen, all under the command of colonel Monſon, who ſoon drove this party back into the city, with the loſs of one of their cannon left on the glacis.

The ſuperiority, both in ſkill and courage, appeared ſo evidently in favour of our troops, from this ineffectual attack, that the governor was ſummoned again; but an anſwer was returned which was more ſpirited than might have been expected from their daſtardly behaviour. Upon this anſwer, colonel Monſon had orders to keep poſſeſſion of the church, which they had deſerted, if he judged it tenable, theſe advantages ſeem to have been taken with ſome reluctance, both with reſpect to the erecting churches into fortreſſes, and tranſgreſſing the rules of war, in making ſuch haſty approaches; but their ſituation was critical, not having a number of troops or dry ground to form trenches, and open batteries with ſafety, which forced them into this method of carrying on the ſiege. From the top of this laſt poſt they had a proſpect of the enemy's works, particularly that part of them where the attack was intended. This was defended by the baſtions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew, with retired flanks, a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way, and glacis, or ſlope, towards the country. The baſtions were in good order, planted with a great number of fine braſs cannon, but the other defences in bad condition, and the ditch not continued round the head of Diego baſtion; which determined the attack to that quarter. As the enemy had not placed centinels in the covered way, an opportunity was taken to ſound the ditch, by a ſmall party of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, under captain Fletcher, who ſolicited to undertake it; this perilous attempt ſucceeded, with the loſs of three or four men killed and wounded, by the fire of the baſtion; the depth

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of the water was only five feet, and about thirty yards broad. The extent of this populous city made it impoſſible to inveſt it with ſuch a ſmall army, ſo that two ſides were conſtantly open, whereby ſupplies of men and proviſions were daily introduced by the Spaniards, who had likewiſe an opportunity to carry off their effects; and the garriſon of eight hundred men, under the marquis of Villa Mediana, was augmented by a body of ten thouſand Indians from Pamphanga, a fierce, barbarous, and ſavage people: The inundations had likewiſe ſecured one entire part of the ſuburbs, ſo that the beſiegers had but a melancholy proſpect. But what cannot induſtry and reſolution ſurmount? They ſoon prepared every requiſite for opening batteries; one for ſhells, being ready on the third night from landing, which was opened on the baſtion of St. Diego, neareſt the laſt poſt which had been taken from the enemy's ſallying party.

On the fourth day the Governor ſent a meſſage to apologize for ſome barbarities which the Indians had committed, and to requeſt that a nephew of his might be ſent on ſhore. This gentleman had been diſpatched from the Philippina galleon, with the firſt advices of war. Hoſtilities ceaſed upon the meſſage till night, when the fire again commenced with ſome additional mortars.

On the 5th day the governors nephew was landed, and lieutenant Fryar was ſent to conduct him, with a flag of truce. In the mean time, a party of the enemy, with ſome Indians, puſhed out of the garriſon to attack the poſt at the Hermita, by which lieutenant Fryar was conducting his charge, towards the ravelin gate. The barbarians, without any reſpect to his character, inhumanely murdered him, and mangled his body in a manner too ſhocking to relate; in the height of their fury they alſo mortally wounded the governor's nephew, who endeavoured to ſave the unhappy lieutenant: Our party at the Hermita received their on-ſet with great ſpirit, and repulſed them with ſome loſs. As it was evident that the Indians only were guilty of this barbarous action, the troops ſhewed them no mercy.

The Admiral now ſent in ſome ſhips, at general Draper's requeſt, to ſecond the operations of the ſiege, and more batteries were traced out; but the rains retarded their progreſs, and the abſence of two ſhips with entrenching tools and faggots, was an inconvenience very ſenſibly affecting the beſiegers. The Admiral remedied this as ſpeedily as poſſible, by ſupplying ſmiths and carpenters out of the fleet, to make the neceſſary tools, which they performed with ſuch diſpatch, that they had a proſpect of proceeding.

By

By the beginning of October the weather was grown ſo tempeſtuous that the fleet was in great danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off. The South-ſea ſtore-ſhip was driven aſhore in this ſtorm; which accident was however of great ſervice, as captain Sherwood was enabled to ſcour the whole beach to the ſouthward, and kept in awe a large body of Indians, who menaced the poſt at Polveriſta and the magazines at Malatta. Altho' there was now both rain and wind to contend with, the batteries were forwarded by an uncommon perſeverance of the troops and ſailors employed on the works, till a communication was made from the St. Jago poſt to the battery, and a ſpacious place of arms towards the ſea on the left; this was the ſooner erected, as the roaring of the waves prevented the enemy from hearing our workmen at night. The Spaniards gave them no interruption now, but ſeemed to truſt entirely to the inclement ſeaſon; and the Archbiſhop gave out, *that the Angel of the* LORD *was gone forth to deſtroy the Engliſh as the army of Sennacherib*; but the event did not anſwer to his raſh prediction; and the ſailors were as active as ever, even during the ſtorm which was to have ruined the army; a proof, that they were under a more happy enthuſiaſm for the honour of their native country.

On the 3d of October the weather grew more moderate, and now a good battery was opened againſt the left face of Diego baſtion. One hundred brave ſailors aſſiſted in the working of it; and it was ſerved with uncommon ſpirit, by the corps of artillery, under the direction of major Barker and other good engineers; ſo that twelve guns in the baſtion were ſilenced in a few hours, and the Spaniards driven from them, while other batteries, in concert with this, did conſiderable damage to the works of which this baſtion was compoſed.

On the next morning, before day, one thouſand Indians attacked the quarter where the ſailors were ſtationed. Encouraged to this attempt, by the inceſſant rains, which they imagined had rendered fire-arms uſeleſs. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick buſhes, which grew near a rivulet. This they had paſſed in the night and eluded the vigilance of our patroling ſcouts. Colonel Monſon and captain Fletcher, with the picked men, were diſpatched to aſſiſt the brave tars, who very ſenſibly contented themſelves with ſtanding on the defenſive in their poſts till break of day, when a freſh party of the ſeventy-ninth regiment appearing on the right flank of the Savages, they fled, were purſued, and diſperſed with the loſs of three hundred of them. This

attack might have been fatal, if either the ſkill or weapons of the ſavages had been equal to their ſtrength and ferocity. Armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced to the very muzzles of the ſoldiers pieces, and repeated their aſſaults, dying like wild beaſts, foaming and ſeizing the bayonets with their teeth. This attack was not without loſs on our ſide; and among the ſlain was a moſt excellent ſea officer, mr. Porter, captain of the ſeamen and lieutenant on board the Norwich, ſincerely and deſervedly eſteemed by all who knew him, and as truly lamented. Scarce was this affair over, before they made an attempt on the Hermita poſt, with another body of Indians, and part of the Spaniſh garriſon. The Seapoys were forced from that part of the church neareſt the town, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the roof, killing and wounding many of our people, who were thus expoſed to their fire. Notwithſtanding this, the European ſoldiers maintained their ground behind the church with great firmneſs and patience till the enemy was diſlodged. Their laſt puſh ſeems to have been made here, and they left ſeventy of their number dead in and about the church. On our ſide, captain Strahan was killed, and forty private men, either ſlain out-right, or very dangerouſly wounded. At this juncture moſt of the Indians went home, being diſcouraged with their loſſes, and the firing was reſumed from the batteries with more ſpirit than ever, till all the defences of Diego baſtion were quite ruined; and on the evening of October the 5th a reſolution was taken to ſtorm, as the breach was now practicable; and the neceſſary preparations were accordingly made againſt the following morning.

Early on the 6th of October, at four in the morning, the troops were put in motion; they kept filing off from their quarters by ſmall bodies, to give the leſs ſuſpicion of an intention to ſtorm. By degrees they were aſſembled at St. Jago's church, obſerving a profound ſilence, and concealing themſelves in the place of arms and the parallel defences between the church and the battery, which had been erected at firſt againſt the Diego baſtion. Major Barker now kept up a briſk fire on the breach and works contiguous; all the other batteries were well employed to clear thoſe places of the enemy. At day-break the Spaniards were diſcovered in a large body, ready formed on the baſtion of St. Andrew, as if they had diſcovered the deſign, and intended to annoy the aſſailants with muſquetry and grape-ſhot, from the retired flank of that baſtion, where they had two cannon yet mounted; but by the exploſion of ſome ſhells which fell among them, they were

were driven off. The advantage was immediately ſeized upon, and the troops puſhed on to the aſſault, under a general diſcharge of artillery, and covered with a thick cloud of ſmoak, which blew directly in the enemy's faces. Sixty volunteers, under lieutenant Ruſſel, of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, led the way, ſupported by their own grenadiers. The engineers, pioneers, and other workmen, followed cloſe to enlarge the breach, and make lodgments in caſe the enemy had been too ſtrongly entrenched in the neck of the baſtion. Colonel Monſon and major More were at the head of two grand diviſions of the ſeventy-ninth regiment; the battalion of ſailors followed next, ſuſtained by the other two diviſions of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, while the company's troops compoſed the rear. They all mounted the breach with amazing ſpeed and intrepidity; the few Spaniards on the baſtion diſperſed ſo ſuddenly, that it was thought they depended on their mines, and the troops ſuſpended their attack for a ſhort ſpace, till after a ſtrict ſearch, this precaution was found needleſs. Little reſiſtance was made, except from the royal gate and from the galleries of the lofty houſes in the grand ſquare.

One hundred of the enemy in the guard-houſe, over the royal gate, who would not ſurrender, were put to the ſword; three hundred more, according to the enemy's computation, were drowned, in croſſing a river. The Governor and principal officers retired to a citadel, and were glad to ſurrender at diſcretion, as the place was in no poſture of defence. The troops were upon this put into immediate poſſeſſion, and the marquis of Villa Medina, with other officers, were ſuffered to be priſoners at large, on their word of honour; add to this, the Indian priſoners were releaſed, in order to conciliate the good-will of the natives.

The rejoicings on this fortunate event, were clouded by the loſs of an experienced officer, in the death of major More; who was ſhot through the body with an Indian arrow, near the royal gate, and expired on the ſpot. Captain Sleigh, and ſome other good officers, were wounded, and thirty private men killed or wounded in the attack. By the terms dictated to the Spaniards, the port and citadel of Cavite, with their dependencies, ſeveral large ſhips, with a vaſt quantity of warlike and naval ſtores, were ſurrendered to the conquerors; but the religion, liberties, properties, and commerce, were reſerved to the inhabitants of the Philippine Iſlands, ſubjects to the king of Spain, on condition of paying 4,000,000

of dollars, and giving their word of honour, not to ſerve againſt his Britannic Majeſty.

During the whole courſe of operations, admiral Corniſh had done all that lay in his power to aſſiſt and encourage the troops. On the 25th of September he diſpatched three armed boats after a gally making the beſt of her way up the bay of Manilla. They reſolutely boarded and took her, notwithſtanding a ſmart fire from patteraroes, muſkets, two carriage, and ſeventeen ſwivel guns. By letters on board, it was diſcovered, that ſhe had left the Galleon, St. Philippina, in a certain ſtation, and brought advice by the governor's nephew, as before related, of the war between Britain; the admiral upon this ordered two frigates after the Philippina; but the ſtormy weather hindered them from ſailing till the 4th of October.

The Argo and the Panther had been appointed on this ſervice, and now ſailed. It was the 30th before they came to the entrance of the Embrocadera, where the galleon was ſuppoſed to lie. Towards the cloſe of day, the two frigates being ſeparated a little by the currents, captain Parker, of the Panther (while the Argo came to anchor) diſcovered a ſail ſtanding to the northward, and gave chaſe; about eight in the evening he had brought her up to within two leagues; but getting into a counter current was in danger of being loſt among the Narangos, and obliged to anchor. The Argo, having now weighed, got up with the chaſe, and eſcaped the danger, when captain King engaged the enemy near two hours, but was ſo roughly treated that he was obliged to bring too, and repair his damages. By this time captain Parker, taking an opportunity of the current's ſlackening, got under ſail again. About nine the next morning he came up with her, and cannonaded her for two hours, within half muſket ſhot, before ſhe ſtruck. The Spaniards made little reſiſtance, ſeeming to truſt to the ſtrength of her ſides, which the Panther's ſhot was not ſufficient to penetrate, except the upper works. Captain Parker was no leſs diſappointed, than ſurprized, to find, by the report of her commander, that inſtead of the Phillippina, he had engaged and taken the Sanctiſſimo Trinidad, who left Manilla on the 1ſt of Auguſt for Acupulcha, but had met with a ſtorm, wherein ſhe was diſmaſted and had put back to refit. She was pierced for ſixty guns, drew thirty-three feet of water, and was reputed to be worth 3,000,000 of dollars.

The Spaniards had nothing to compenſate theſe loſſes, but their fruitleſs invaſion of Portugal, and capture of the Iſland

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of St. Sacrament, with the Portugueſe garriſon there, which ſurrendered on the 22d of October. The lord Clive privateer was likewiſe unfortunately loſt, by taking fire at the attack of San. Sacrament, a Spaniſh ſettlement in the river of Plate. She had nearly ſucceeded in this enterprize; upon which her employers had formed great expectations, together with her conſorts, there being nine Engliſh and Portugueſe ſhips in company; but after ſhe had burnt furiouſly for a-while, the veſſel took fire and blew up, with moſt of her crew, and captain Macnamarra her commander; upon which, the other ſhips gave up the attack.

The Spaniards, as we have obſerved, had, to ſet againſt our conqueſts, but this inconſiderable loſs, and we may add the French; for by the Family Compact both powers had one intereſt. This latter had triumphed in the ill-natured and mean ſatisfaction of deſtroying the fiſhing ſtages at Newfoundland, in return for the loſs of Martinico, while we were enriching her ſubjects both there and at the other Iſlands, which had been wreſted from her by the Britiſh arms; however, both powers hoped to retrieve their affairs, by the diſtractions viſible in the Britiſh counſels. A negociation for peace was now in great forwardneſs, which had been ſet on foot at the mediation of the Sardinian miniſter. This treaty they had the addreſs to manage, in ſuch a manner, that if our attempt on the Havannah had failed, it might be broken off at pleaſure; and if it ſucceeded, they had nothing but the immediate loſs to apprehend; as thoſe in power at the court of London, were known to ſtand in as much need of peace as themſelves, ſince the miniſter, who alone enjoyed the public confidence, had left them in poſſeſſion of the royal favour, by a haſty reſignation. This imprudent ſtep has been aſcribed to a ſpirit of domineering, and a deſire of engaging the nation in new difficulties, that his ſkill might be ſeen to more advantage, in conducting affairs. But it ſhould be remembered, that he had advanced a conſiderable way in an actual negociation with France, at a time, when ſhe was to all appearances, compleatly humbled: That the terms which he propoſed were moderate, witneſs the invidious parallels between them and thoſe now under conſideration; but the honour of dictating them, which he firmly and avowedly reſerved to Great Britain in contempt of French chicanery, and of Spaniſh pride, was what thoſe courts could never digeſt. Inſtantly the thoughts of peace were given up to perſonal rancour and animoſity, from a ſovereign power to a private ſubject, who rather deſerved admiration; for being jealous of his maſter's

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honour only, as the terms he propoſed were truly moderate, his very enemies being judges. We would be underſtood here of ſuch as being his country-men have yet induſtriouſly urged againſt him, in converſation and from the preſs, again and again, thoſe calumnies which compoſed the ſubſtance of that Spaniſh memorial, calculated to inflame the nation, which it has done but too effectually.

Let m. Buffy enjoy a ridiculous triumph in his ſuperior talents for intrigue; if a readineſs to ſacrifice every other principle to the intereſts of their grand monarch, is what conſtitutes the patriotiſm of a French courtier, he was a patriot in this light, and managed the embaſſy committed to his care, with all the addreſs of a thoro'-bred ſtateſman; perhaps, the French court never thought of treating in earneſt; however it was, a proſpect ſoon opened, which afforded an occaſion but too flattering, for a man of his abilities, not to improve upon. He ſaw there were perſons who envied Mr. Pitt the honour of having extricated the nation out of the alarming conſequences which threatened her, from a ſeries of miſconduct very alarming. He firſt pointed out the way of conqueſt to her fleets and armies, and was then endeavouring, on the moſt moderate terms, to ſecure thoſe advantages by a negociation for peace, in which if he expreſſed a laudable zeal for the national honour, he had left France without the ſhadow of a pretence, to break off the treaty. With all this envied merit, there was a peremptory manner in mr. Pitt's conduct, which, with a little heightening, might be conſtrued into pride; and his gratitude to the people, whoſe ſervant he accounted himſelf to be, acquired him a popularity, which was counted little leſs than factious.

Theſe were the materials which the French miniſter had to work upon, and the firſt ſtep was to exaſperate him, by ſome demand injurious to the honour of his country; it was effectually done, by introducing the Spaniſh claims; we ſhall not call them romantick, as they cannot be ſuppoſed to be urged with any ſerious intent of being admitted. Mr. Pitt was ſhocked; but he coolly returned them, as inadmiſſable. He went further, and had the addreſs to fathom the counſels of both France and Spain; to procure authentic advice of the Family Compact, while it was yet in embrio. Stung to the quick at ſuch baſe proceedings, he heard arguments in favour of the Spaniſh claims, irregularly as they had been introduced; which the common enemy had put into the mouths of Engliſhmen, nay, perſons who were in places of power and truſt about the king's perſon, and honoured with his confidence,

confidence, which this faithful ſervant of the public was loſing in proportion. He ſeems never to have aimed at engroſſing the royal favour, for which he might be deſpiſed by men of intrigue; who conſider nothing in a more contemptible light, than an open, undeſigning and honeſt temper. Whether the earl of Bute was of this caſt we cannot determine. Certain it is, that from the time of his coming about the King's perſon, mr. Pitt found his meaſures clogg'd and miſrepreſented, till now, when he plainly perceived his ſervices were no more acceptable. He was chagrined at the thoughts of this, and with an heart brooding over the Spaniſh inſolence, aſtoniſhed the King and council, with a propoſal to chaſtiſe it, by commencing hoſtilities without any loſs of time; in which raſh meaſure he was only ſeconded by earl Temple.

A little conſideration might have pointed out the impropriety of ſuch a propoſal, till it had been previouſly hinted to ſome leading members of the council, together with the diſcovery on which it was grounded. This precaution ſeems to have been neglected, probably, from a jealouſy of the affair's tranſpiring, before ſome bold ſtroke had ſhewn the Spaniards we were not to be trifled with; beſides, if the advices muſt be taken on his ſole credit, they might diſpute their authenticity; and whatever diſcoveries tended to eſtabliſh their credit, would endanger his correſpondents. Whatever was the caſe, he was poſitive in his opinion, and inſiſted on carrying his point or reſigning immediately.

Unfortunately for the nation, he adhered to this reſolution; and is ſaid to have been moſt ſenſibly affected at the kind manner in which his majeſty acknowledged his ſervices when he reſigned the ſeals of his department; at the ſame time he declared, that if all the council had been for adopting mr. Pitt's motion, he ſhould ſcarce have followed ſuch precipitate advice.

Thus was both the King and the nation deprived of his ſervice, by an unamiable poſitiveneſs, to which the moſt upright of men are liable. His majeſty's royal bounty followed him into his retirement, which appears to have been the meer effects of beneficence, and a juſt reward of his faithful ſervices; however it was ſome time before, even his friends, could be perſuaded that he had not ſold his country. A letter which he wrote into the city, to aſſign the motives of his conduct both in reſigning and accepting the penſion which had been aſſigned him, ſhews the concern he took to repel this ſlander; yet there was a dictatorial ſtiffneſs in it, which was improved by every ſcurrillity of invention, to repreſent him

as a gloomy, poſitive mortal, whom it was impoſſible to act in concert with. But the Spaniſh memorial ſoon following, with an avowal of the Family Compact, the threatened invaſion of Portugal, and mutual declarations of war, between England and Spain, ſoon opened the people's eyes; they ſaw the meaſure which he had adviſed might have prevented all this inſolence, and quenched the ſpark of contention, before it was burſt into a flame. They were perſuaded that he only could ſerve the nation effectually, while thoſe who had ſucceeded to the adminiſtration found their meaſures thwarted, and their time took up, with ſecuring their places, and introducing their dependants into poſts of honour and profit, as a neceſſary ballance to one man's popularity, whom they durſt not truſt, after having patroniſed thoſe incendiary papers which were calculated to inſult him. He ſeems never to have been provoked ſo far, as to anſwer perſonally, reſting his cauſe entirely on what had been advanced in the letter wrote to his friend in the city. But volunteers engaged in his cauſe and gave the miniſtry ſufficient reaſon to think him well-ſupported. They were not out in their gueſſes; ſome of the firſt nobility began to murmur at the unbounded confidence with which lord Bute was favoured. They thought they had a kind of preſcriptive right, to enjoy the places of truſt and profit about his majeſty, for their long and zealous attachment to the Brunſwick family; finding their claims diſregarded, they reſigned in diſguſt, and aſſociating together, formed an avowed oppoſition to the courtiers. Theſe, with lord Bute at their head, made up the more numerous party, and did not want reaſons to juſtify their conduct. They urged, that ſuch abrupt reſignations, were in fact, no leſs than to inſult his Majeſty, as they had done his royal grand-father. That this conduct had, for a long time, deprived the crown of the ſervices which might have been expected from men of property, and abilities, who had all along oppoſed the court party. That his majeſty was determined to diſpence his royal favours more equitably for the future: That, in the choice of his ſervants, he was determined to uſe the undoubted prerogatives of his crown, and his confidence in lord Bute aroſe from his friendſhip for that nobleman, and gratitude for the great care he had taken in his education, which had given him opportunities of experiencing his fidelity. Theſe arguments however ſpecious did not ſatisfy the people; they wiſhed to ſee mr. Pitt once more in employment. The noblemen in the oppoſition took his part, and a Paper War was formally commenced, by periodical publications on both ſides, full of equal ſcurrillity,

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and perſonal, nay local reflections, till the demon of party, which had been laid aſleep was conjured up to light and ſtalked abroad again, to the great terror and grief of ſuch as reflected on what might be the conſequences.

It is not ſurpriſing, when we conſider what employment theſe diſputes cut out for the new miniſtry, that they ſhould uſe the means in their power to counter-act the oppoſition, by filling the chief places at court with their friends, whoſe dependants, would naturally find a way into the lower offices. A majority in Parliament was likewiſe neceſſary, to countenance their meaſures. All this buſineſs would find them employment, and exhauſt all the powers of intrigue. Numbers of men were diſplaced who did not want abilities to detect any act of partiality, and from their acquaintance in the public offices, were well qualified to do it. Scarce an irregularity had been committed but it was circulated in print; ſo that the miniſtry were moſt perfectly embarraſſed. It is aſtoniſhing to think that amidſt theſe diſtractions Portugal ſhould be ſuccoured; the war in Germany ſupported; two ſuch conqueſts as Martinico and the Havannah atchieved; all in one year; not to mention the ſucceſs at Manilla. But we were got into the vein of conqueſt, and they ſeem to have wiſely continued it; knowing the leaſt deviation would be ſeverely ſcrutinized. In ſhort, the oppoſition was againſt men; meaſures were conducted with a ſucceſs, which might have done honour to mr. Pitt. But what ſhall we ſay the merit of them was invidiouſly leſſened, and it was found that even ſucceſs could not procure them popularity. Perhaps they had all along deſpiſed it too much, and now began to ſee the people's want of confidence in them, would make it impoſſible to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies. Peace ſeemed their laſt reſource, and indeed they had no alternative but to introduce mr. Pitt. This was impracticable unleſs they would give up their places, and leave the king, according to their way of arguing, in the hands of a faction. A peace was therefore reſolved on, and they began a negociation even before the Havannah was fallen into our hands; when they had little ground to imagine the Spaniards would hearken to reaſon, while both the French and Spaniards ſaw how they were embarraſſed. They had in fact contrived to divide his majeſty's counſels, and deprive him of a good ſervant; their deſign had ſucceeded, and they were now to reap the fruits of it, in a negociation which they could conclude or protract at pleaſure.

The parliament had been prepared by a ſpeech from the throne, ſo early as June the 2d, to reliſh the intentions of the miniſtry, in negociating a peace; and this deſirable object was urged on thoſe motives of humanity, which had drawn a declaration from the late unfortunate emperor of Ruſſia, in February, to the reſpective powers at war, in order, if poſſible, to terminate their differences. The parliament was aſſured at the ſame time that vigorous meaſures were taken, ſo that Martinico had been added to our conqueſts, and the Portugueſe in ſome meaſure protected, from the terrors with which an invaſion by the united forces of France and Spain had alarmed them. His Majeſty concluded with a juſt remark on the neceſſities of the ſtate and the large ſupplies which were required for the war, contrary to his real intention, to lighten the burthens of his people, promiſing the utmoſt care ſhould be taken in frugally diſpoſing of what was granted. He then addreſſes the members of both houſes jointly, profeſſing the greateſt confidence in their union, and cordial reception of his endeavours for the public good, hoping, that through their means the ſame unanimity of ſentiments might be diffuſed among the ſeveral counties where their intereſt lay.

Though it appeared from this ſpeech that the miniſtry's intentions were pacific, the people did not reliſh ſuch a propoſal of treating for a peace, as was here hinted at tho' very diſtantly. They thought Peter's declaration to the powers at war, of little weight, ſince his dethronement and fatal cataſtrophy. And it looked like catching at the firſt twig, to prevent drowning, in the violence of a torrent, which there was ſufficient ſtrength to ſtem; but we muſt remember that the invaſion of Portugal was a ſerious affair, and drew even this pacific miniſtry into a freſh continental war, before they had finiſhed another, which they had railed very freely againſt; though there was no compariſon to be made, between either the ſituation, or capacity, of Portugal and Pruſſia, for ſupporting themſelves, and annoying the enemy, yet they had both powers to ſupport at once. Thus compleatly were they embarraſſed, and whoever reflects a moment, muſt acknowledge they encountered difficulties, which had puzzled men as honeſt, and more capable of buſineſs than themſelves.

We may inſtance in mr. Pitt, whoſe conduct their emiſſaries have made ſo free with. He was known to oppoſe continental connections, and yet the natural affection which his late Majeſty entertained for his native country, forced him into them, if he would ſerve the nation effectually, otherwiſe

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it would have been as eaſy to diſplace him then, as afterwards, and make a peace for Hanover, at the expence of our colonies. What was to be done then? He took the middle way, never loſing ſight of our intereſts in America, and only acting in Germany, when the king of Pruſſia's victory at Rochbac, opened a proſpect of advantage not to be ſlighted. This conduct however has been ridiculed by his enemies, as quite inconſiſtent with his former principles; but raillery apart; the ſame perſons had now undertaken the defence of Portugal, who had railed at German connexions, and they ſaw the neceſſity of obſerving treaties, by ſending the ſtipulated ſuccours, even when there was little hope of repelling the invaders, both from the nature of the country, the enemy's ſituation, and the greater expence of employing mercenaries.

Thus circumſtanced, their whole hope ſeemed to center in reducing the Havannah; and they might be ſaid to throw a deſperate ſtake, as there was nothing pacific in the diſpoſitions of France or Spain, to correſpond with their deſign, which had but too much the appearance of making peace at any rate rather than give up their places. Advances had been now made towards a negociation, by an application to the Sardinian miniſter; the diſpoſitions of France and Spain being ſounded by that means; thoſe courts might now play their own game, and they made the ſame reciprocal advances, for fear of the worſt; but never ſeemed in earneſt to eſtabliſh the peace of Europe, till the Spaniards heard of their loſſes at the Havannah. Then indeed the court of Spain began to perceive, that, notwithſtanding the propoſed conqueſt of Portugal, they had been made dupes to the artifice of France, and that the arms of Britain would be turned on their ſettlements, trade and ſhipping, while the French would have time to breathe. An uneaſineſs at the proſpect of this began to appear among the Spaniſh Grandees, and the King of Spain, being now urged to treat by the French miniſter, replyed with ſome diſguſt, 'That the loſs of the Havannah was a ſenſible ſtroke on his honour, and ſcarce to be compenſated by a negociation.' Indeed, according to the concluſion Spain had adopted, if the Britiſh nation was intoxicated with conqueſts before, there was little ground to think us humbled now; but many advantages might accrue from concluding the treaty then, which the court of France might point out to the Spaniſh monarch, after his choler had once been a little digeſted; theſe we preſume our readers are ſufficiently acquainted with by this time, and the preliminaries were ſigned in conſequence, on the 3d of November, at Fontainbleau.

The people were not yet thought in a proper temper, to know what was contained in theſe preparatory articles, and various ſurmiſes were induſtriouſly ſpread concerning them. In the mean-time, the duke de Nivernois arrived here, and the duke of Bedford went to France, as embaſſadors extraordinary, and with full powers to treat in behalf of their reſpective courts. The choice made on our part gave no little diſguſt to thoſe in the oppoſition, from the known pacific diſpoſition of that nobleman; and people were ſhocked with a fulſome ſpeech which the duke de Nivernois made, *a la mode de France*, on delivering the credentials to his Britannic Majeſty; it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it was ſpoken in French, and printed by authority, with a tranſlation ſubjoined; that it contained much flattery, and ſeveral prettineſſes of expreſſion, but it affronted the openneſs and common ſenſe of Engliſhmen.

The Parliament, on their aſſembling, were promiſed, in due time, the communication of the preparatory articles, and were prorogued till a convenient ſeaſon, when the firſt heats were ſubſided, in order that the articles might be canvaſſed with coolneſs and deliberation, according to ſome; or till the miniſtry were ſure of a majority, according to others. That there are methods of procuring this, is paſt all doubt, though means too diſhonourable to ſuppoſe any one directly guilty of putting them in practice. This dirty office muſt generally be aſcribed to the party in power collectively, as all in their turns have practiſed it, and there was little reaſon to conclude that thoſe who now took the lead had more virtue than their predeceſſors; for this noble principle goes on in an even and ſteady conſciouſneſs of its own integrity, without taking ſo many precautions to gloſs over its own deſigns, and blacken thoſe of others, as they had openly countenanced. Among the laſt, we may reckon their induſtrious perſecution of mr. Pitt, and to the firſt, a paper may be referred, which was called, *The ſentiments of a Frenchman on the preliminaries*, pretended to be tranſlated from an original, and induſtriouſly diſtributedin all the avenues of Weſtminſter; a piece of harmleſs ſtatecraft, if we conſider that they were reſolved in their meaſure, and only wanted to amuſe the populace, till a majority had given it a ſanction; neither can we imagine the ordinary management was wanting, when we remember this fineſs in politics.

In ſhort, a majority of both houſes approved the preliminaries, and addreſſed his Majeſty thereupon; it was well for the nation that they did ſo, as ſenſible people dreaded every thing

thing from the unſteadineſs of councils which muſt have followed, if the miniſtry had not been ſupported, when they had gone thus far. Add to this the terms on behalf of Britain were not to be deſpiſed, and his Pruſſian Majeſty's intereſts only ſeemed to be left doubtful, which might be the effect of pure reſentment againſt him, for acting ſo little in concert with the new miniſtry; but this was paying no regard to the public faith, and a direct inſult on that jealous monarch too wantonly ſuffered, which he may one time remember. This may be at once ſeen by an inſpection of the preliminary articles here annexed.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES, XIIth. and XIIIth. compared, together with the FRENCH DECLARATION reſpecting the XIIIth.

XII. FRANCE ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of *Hanover*, to the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and to the Count of *La Lippe Buckebourg*, which are, or ſhall be occupied by the arms of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty: The fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the *French* arms; and the pieces of artillery, which ſhould have been carried elſe-where, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight and metal: As to what regards hoſtages exacted or given during the war, to this day, they ſhall be ſent back without ranſom.

XIII. After the ratification of the preliminaries, *France* ſhall evacuate, as ſoon as it can be done, the fortreſſes of *Cleves*, *Weſel*, and *Gueldres*, and in general all the countries of the king of *Pruſſia;* and, at the ſame time, the *Britiſh* and *French* armies ſhall evacuate all the countries which they occupy in *Weſtphalia*, *Lower Saxony*, on the *Lower Rhine*, the *Upper Rhine*, and in all the Empire; and each ſhall retire into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: And their *Britannic* and Moſt Chriſtian majeſties further engage and promiſe, not to furniſh any ſuccour of any kind, to their reſpective allies, who ſhall continue engaged in the preſent war in *Germany*.

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DECLARATION signed at Fontainbleau, Nov. 3, 1762, *by the* French *Plemipotentiary, relating to the 13th Article of the Preliminaries.*

HIS Moſt Chriſtian majeſty declares, that in agreeing to the 13th article of the preliminaries, ſigned this day, he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances, which may be made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the ſubſidies of preceding years, are not to be conſidered as an infraction of the ſaid article.

There was a manifeſt partiality in agreeing that the dominions and fortreſſes of other princes in Germany ſhould be reſtored, and the artillery replaced in the ſame condition as before they were taken, while the King of Pruſſia's countries were only to be evacuated without any fixed time; ſo that they were more likely to be ſeized by the Auſtrians, in conſequence of ſuch an evacuation, than recovered by their own ſovereign; and though the French and Engliſh troops were to retire from the ſeat of war, and leave their reſpective allies unaſſiſted, yet the declaration of France ſhews, that under pretence of arrears, ſhe would ſtill ſupport hers. We ſhall proceed to lay the DEFINITIVE TREATY of PEACE before our readers, without taking farther notice of the PRELIMINARIES.

The Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of Spain, concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, to which the King of Portugal acceded on the ſame day.

In the name of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall, or may, in any manner, belong.

It has pleaſed the moſt high to diffuſe the ſpirit of union and concord among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inſpire them with the inclination to cauſe the comforts of peace to ſucceed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which, having ariſen between England and France, during the reign of the moſt

moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the ſecond, by the grace of GOD, King of Great-Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the third, his ſucceſſor, and in its progreſs, communicated itſelf to Spain and Portugal: Conſequently, the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the third, by the grace of GOD, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenbourg, arch-treaſurer and elector of the holy Roman Empire; the moſt ſerene and moſt potent Prince, Lewis the XV, by the grace of GOD, moſt chriſtian King; and the moſt ſerene and potent Prince, Charles the third, by the grace of GOD, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, ſigned at Fontainbleau the 3d of Nov. laſt; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent Prince, Don Joſeph the firſt, by the grace of GOD, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpoſe, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. his ſacred Majeſty the king of Great-Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquis of Taviſtock, &c. his miniſter of ſtate, lieutenant-general of his armies, keeper of his privy-ſeal, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt chriſtian Majeſty; his ſacred Majeſty the moſt chriſtian King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord Cæſar Gabriel de Choiſeul, duke of Praſlin, peer of France, knight of his orders, lieutenant-general of his armies, and of the province of Britanny, councellor in all his councils, and miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, and of his commands and finances; his ſacred Majeſty the Catholic King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, marquis de Grimaldi, knight of the moſt chriſtian King's orders, gentleman of his Catholic Majeſty's bed-chamber in employment, and his ambaſſador extraordinary to his moſt chriſtian Majeſty; his ſacred Majeſty the moſt faithful King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Caſtro, knight profeſſed of the order of CHRIST, of his moſt faithful Majeſty's council, and his ambaſſador and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt chriſtian Majeſty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are tranſcribed

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at the end of the preſent treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

Article I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between their Britannic, moſt chriſtian, catholic, and moſt faithful Majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, ſubjects, and vaſſals, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exception of places or of perſons: So that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of hoſtilities by ſea or by land to be committed, from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever, and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the contrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantages, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: There ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or ſince, the commencement of the war, which is juſt ended.

II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1667 and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679; of Lyſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1713; the treaty of the tripple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal, with the guaranties of Great-Britain; ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty: And for this purpoſe, they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inſerted here word for word, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their whole tenor, and religi-

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ouſly executed on all ſides, in all their points, which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty, notwithſtanding all that may have been ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: And all the ſaid parties declare, that they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to ſubſiſt contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and ſtipulated by the preſent treaty.

III. All the priſoners made, on all ſides, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances, which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant veſſels, which ſhall have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes: And the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His moſt chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great-Britain: Moreover, his moſt chriſtian Majeſty cedes, and guaranties to his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river of St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwiſe, which the moſt chriſtian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pre-

tence, or to diſturb Great-Britain in the poſſeſſions above-mentioned. His Britannic Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will conſequently give the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit. His Britannic Majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian King in Canada, may retire with all ſafety and freedom wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term limited for this emigration ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as is ſpecified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty, (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts, in the mouth and in the gulph St. Laurence) and his Britannic Majeſty conſents to leave the ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian King the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great-Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſt of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of 15 leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and every-where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as a ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: And his ſaid moſt chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foun-

foundations, and to remove forever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the moſt chriſtian King cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the river Miſſiſſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, as to thoſe of France in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth: It is further ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations, inſerted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: And for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their

perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannic Majeſty and his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored France ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his moſt chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places and ports of the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, and that the merchandiſe, which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated.

IX. The moſt chriſtian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the fourth article for thoſe of Canada; and the partition of the iſlands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipulated.

X. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: And his moſt chriſtian Majeſty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

XI. In the Eaſt-Indies, Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his moſt chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſion to the acquiſitions, which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His moſt chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore, on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the Eaſt-Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſsly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully, in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the

coaſt

coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for the lawful nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of Decan; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one ſide, or on the other, during the war.

XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannic Majeſty, as well as fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the moſt chriſtian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means, to the ſatisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Langrave of Heſſe, to the duke of Brunſwick, and to the count of la Lippe Buckebourg, which are, or ſhall be occupied by his moſt chriſtian Majeſty's arms: The fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the French arms: And the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight and metal.

XV. In caſe the ſtipulations, contained in the thirteenth article of the preliminaries, ſhould not be completed at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Wezel, Gueldres, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns; their Britannic and moſt chriſtian Majeſties promiſe to proceed, *bona fide*, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulate before the 15th of March next, or ſooner if it can be done; and their Britannic and moſt chriſtian Majeſties further engage, and promiſe to each other,

not

not to furniſh any ſuccours of any kind to their reſpective allies, who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The deciſion of the prizes made, in the time of peace, by the ſubjects of Great-Britain, on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformable to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations, ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes, between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to the treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation who ſhall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected on the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the preſent treaty: and his Catholic Majeſty ſhall not permit his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, or their workmen, to be diſturbed, or moleſted under any pretence whatſoever, in the ſaid places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood. And for this purpoſe, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines which are neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects: And his Catholic Majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of thoſe advantages and powers on the Spaniſh coaſts and territories, as above ſtipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

XVIII. His Catholic Majeſty deſiſts, as well for himſelf, as for his ſucceſſors, from all pretenſions which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuſcoans, and other his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Newfoundland.

XIX. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havannah; and its fortreſs, as well as all the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic Majeſty's arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to Spain by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands, and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland, reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion,

religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, exeept that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: But as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing-places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majeſty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic Majeſty, Florida, with fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North-America, to the eaſt, or to the ſouth-eaſt, of the river Miſſiſſippi. And in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; ſo that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannic Majeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: He will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: His Britannic Majeſty further agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others, who had been ſubjects of the Catholic King in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever

wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigrations, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: The term, limited for this emigration, being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt faithful Majeſty, in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France, and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery and ammunition which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt-Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformable to the preceding treaties which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be, reſpectively, and *bona fide*, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and moſt faithful Majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their moſt chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

XXIV. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the Britiſh and French troops ſhall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that ſhall remain to be executed of the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the preliminaries, ſigned the 3d day of November laſt, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the

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empire, or elſewhere. The iſland of Belleiſle ſhall be evacuated ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Deſirade, Mariegalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Great-Britain ſhall likewiſe, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, as they are ſpecified in the ſeventh article. The iſland of Goree ſhall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the iſland of Minorca, by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner if it can be done: And according to the conditions of the ſixth article, France ſhall likewiſe enter into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Peter, and Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the Eaſt-Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done: And, at the ſame time, Great-Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the twentieth article. All the places and countries of his moſt faithful Majeſty, in Europe, ſhall be reſtored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugueſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt-Indies, and of ſix months in the Eaſt-Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. All the fortreſſes, the reſtitution whereof is ſtipulated above, ſhall be reſtored, with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conqueſt. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips that ſhall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

XXV. His Britannic Majeſty, as elector of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid Majeſty in Germany, are included and guaranteed by the preſent treaty of peace.

XXVI. Their ſacred Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt faithful Majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten, their ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.)
CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.)
EL MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.
(L. S.)

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

SOME of the titles made uſe of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the courſe of the negociation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, that no prejudice ſhall ever reſult therefrom to any of the ſaid contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted, on either ſide, on occaſion of the ſaid negociation, and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform themſelves, for

for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are uſed, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the preſent treaty having ſtill the ſame force and effect, as if the aforeſaid cuſtom had been therein obſerved.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not ſigned the preſent definitive treaty, their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, acknowledge, nevertheleſs, that his moſt faithful Majeſty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expreſsly ſigned the ſaid treaty: Conſequently their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, reſpectively, and conjointly, promiſe to his moſt faithful Majeſty, in the moſt expreſs and moſt binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauſes, contained in the ſaid treaty, on his act of acceſſion.

The preſent ſeparate articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted in the treaty.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, of their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate articles, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.)
CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.
(L. S.)
EL MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.
(L. S.)

DECLARATION of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having deſired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills, which had been delivered to the Canadians for the neceſſaries furniſhed to the French troops, ſhould be ſecured, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, entirely diſpoſed to render to every one that juſtice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare,

that the ſaid bills, and letters of exchange, ſhall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places, and to what ſhall be poſſible, taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French ſubjects, may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the poſſeſſion of the new ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten miniſter of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, duly authorized for this purpoſe, have ſigned the preſent declaration, and cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

DECLARATION of his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with regard to the Limits of Bengal in the Eaſt-Indies.

WE the underwritten ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all ſubject of diſpute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, declare, in the name and by order of his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the Subah of Bengal, ſhall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon excluſively, and that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten miniſter plenipotentiary of his Majeſty the King of Great-Britain, have ſigned the preſent declaration, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

Whoever has reflected on the operations of 1762, That the year commenced with a declaration of war againſt Spain, after we had ſuſtained a war with France and her allies, for near ſeven years: That before the cloſe of this year we had reduced

reduced Martinico, baffled the attempts of both France and Spain againſt Portugal, ſeized that treaſure the Spaniards were bringing from South America, and at the ſame time by reducing the Havannah, opened an eaſy way to conqueſt in that part of the world: We ſay, whoever reflects a moment on this, muſt ſuppoſe the enemies of Britain were compelled to make a peace, wherein all thoſe advantages were obtained, which the nation had been long ſeeking. But our readers are by this time ſenſible of that critical ſituation the miniſtry were in, and that it was no ſecret to the powers at war. We muſt therefore acquieſce in the wiſdom of parliament, and the moderation of his Majeſty, who was rather for ſecuring the advantages gained already, than hazarding more; a temper much to be commended, conſidering the ferment of parties, together with his youth and inexperience. That conſiderable advantages were obtained in this definitive treaty, is not to be denied, whether we attend to the ceſſion of a large tract of land on the back of our ſettlements, or the uſe which may be made of a fine country, almoſt interſected with lakes, where we may ſecure the fur trade without a competitor; whether we conſider the ſecurity of our ſettlements there by a natural boundary, the river Miſſiſſippi; the liberty of navigating this in common with the French, or the compactneſs of the whole Britiſh empire in America, by the ceſſion of both Florida's, and its farther ſecurity by totally excluding the French from Louiſbourgh, and the fiſhery up St. Laurence; ſo that they are abſolutely cramped in this laſt article, of which they ſeem to have made a point. Senegal, which we have kept, ſeems to be of much more conſequence than Goree, for though that laſt ſettlement has been repreſented as the key of the other, it was in fact, laſt reduced, without having been able to diſturb our firſt conqueſt at Senegal, for a ſeaſon, during which it was in the enemy's poſſeſſion. As to what was reſtored there ſeems to have been ſome reaſon for it, more peculiar to the ſugar-planters, than the public, and the arguments for giving up, or keeping the conquered iſlands, are ſo contradictory, that we can only account for them, by ſuppoſing, either ſide biaſſed by ſelf-intereſt. Thoſe who were for keeping them, having already acquired an intereſt in plantations there; and the others who argued for returning them, having plantations at Jamaica or elſewhere, which might be leſſened in value on all the crops coming to market here. It is pity, however, but both ſides had urged what was the beſt reaſon for reſerving one of the capital iſlands at leaſt; namely, the growth of Cotton for our manufactories; but perhaps the ſtrength

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of the plea was purpoſely overlooked by the capital merchants, who would rather have good prices for a commodity, than overſtock the markets; certain it is, that this point was never urged home to the miniſtry, except in an addreſs from Liverpool, which ſeems to have come too late. Upon the whole, the miniſtry acted firmly in this, that they ſecured what might properly be called, the National Object, and had given riſe to to the war, returning only what was thought of leſs conſequence, till the intereſt of ſome overgrown traders was concerned, to raiſe a clamour, and palm it upon the public, as both the intereſt and voice of the nation.

We cannot diſmiſs this ſubject of the Sugar Iſlands, without taking notice, how weak it was, after the miniſtry had experienced the perfidy of both France and Spain, not to indemnify the nation on ſuch of their ſettlements, as were intended to be reſtored, by putting in practice the known rules of war, in an enemy's country; we would be underſtood, of enforcing ſuch contributions as the inhabitants could from time to time be able to raiſe, on pain of military execution. The French had ſet us a pattern in Germany, which they had puſhed to an extremity, even ruinous to themſelves. The King of Pruſſia manifeſtly owes his exiſtence to this meaſure; and if we had drained the Conquered Iſlands, of produce, as he did Saxony, of money, the French would ſoon have been in earneſt to treat; on the contrary, we were treating them like our own ſettlements, and they reverted to the crown of France conſiderably enriched. With reſpect to the Havannah, what ſums might have been raiſed by this meaſure, where there was ſpecie to anſwer heavy contributions? But inſtead of this, Britiſh ſubjects were the only perſons oppreſſed.

The pacific miniſtry, who concluded the above treaty, have been peculiarly unhappy, in ſuffering both by the oppoſition, and even by their own advocates, who betrayed the cauſe which they were to defend.

The opponents have been complaining, that we have given up conqueſts without an equivalent; and the advocates have lamented, that ſuch conqueſts have been made: Our ſucceſſes, on one ſide, have been numbered among our misfortunes, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to render peace impoſſible, by producing ſuch demands as could never be granted; and, on the other ſide, it has been inſiſted, that nothing ſhould be given up. It may, however, be aſked of one of theſe parties, whether they think that we ſhould have been able to make peace with France upon terms equally advantageous with thoſe of the preſent treaty, if we had not made the conqueſts

queſts which they affect to regret? And of the other, whether we could have made peace with France at all, if we had not made the conceſſions of which they complain? That we could not have made peace upon terms equally advantageous, if we had been leſs ſucceſsful, will ſcarce be denied; nor can any motive be aſſigned for our making a leſs advantageous peace *then*; than might *then* be made: That we might make a better peace, when our ſucceſſes ſhould be multiplied by a continuation of the war, is a poſition, however ſpecious, not haſtily to be admitted; our enemies could not, by our utmoſt efforts, be reduced to the neceſſity of conſenting that we ſhould keep all we ſhould gain, becauſe ſuch conſent would not produce them an equivalent advantage; and a perpetual war, merely defenſive on our ſide to keep what we ſhould gain, would load us with a burthen under which we ſhould inevitably ſink; and it is irrefragably true, that our conqueſts from France have very nearly reached their utmoſt bounds; little remains to France more than muſt for ever remain to her, in ſpight of all our efforts, however vigorous and perſevering: And, if it is certain, that ſomething more might be gained, and that what is gained might for a time be kept; it is alſo certain, that we might, by a reverſe of fortune, not only be diſappointed in attempts of farther acquiſition, but have part of our preſent acquiſitions wreſted from us; we muſt of neceſſity grow weak by a mere exertion of our ſtrength, too great and too long continued. There are certain conceſſions which the enemy will find it her intereſt to make for the advantages we offer; but there are conceſſions to which no immediate advantages will be thought equivalent; we have already brought France to that boundary, beyond which ſhe can never be brought; leſs would not have brought her thus far, and more would bring her no farther. It is upon this ſuppoſition, that the moſt reſpectable aſſembly in the nation, in their addreſs to his Majeſty, have left it upon record, that they "cannot ſufficiently admire that wiſdom which ſeized the "fortunate hour of reaping the advantages of our victories, "while we were yet on the ſummit of glory, and before we "had experienced any reverſe of fortune."

1763.

THE Definitive Treaty between Great-Britain and her enemies had an immediate effect in putting a period to the troubles of Germany; but the activity and addreſs of his

his Pruſſian Majeſty haſtened that deſirable event. He no ſooner ſaw, that the pacific miniſtry were for treating without his concurrence ere he took meaſures for his own ſafety, by agreeing with the Empreſs Queen of Hungary, to a ceſſation of arms. She was entirely ignorant of his motives, and received the propoſal as a natural conſequence of the treaty now entered into by their reſpective allies; but that politic monarch, having once tied up her hands, ſeparated his forces, according to a plan previouſly laid down for invading the countries of thoſe petty ſovereigns, who furniſhed the troops of which the army of the empire was compoſed. * In theſe places he raiſed very heavy contributions, which were exacted with all the rigours of war, and no proſpect of their being remitted, till their reſpective ſovereigns ſigned a neutrality, whereby their contingents were withdrawn from the Execution Army, as it has been called; and hence there was no proſpect of aſſembling it for the future, if the Empreſs Queen ſhould continue the war, through her known obſtinacy and inveterate enmity againſt him. Thus, by a maſterly ſtroke, he levied incredible ſums of money, and ſecured to himſelf the means of either continuing the war, or treating to advantage.

He ſeized the opportunity of treating, and ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the many ſhrewd turns fortune had ſhewn him, as to give all the facilities in his power, to terminate the war; among which we may reckon the peremptory manner he aſſumed of dictating both the terms of this treaty, and the time of concluding it.

The treaty of peace between the Empreſs Queen and the Kings of Pruſſia and Poland, was ſigned at the caſtle of Hubertſberg on the 15th of March; it conſiſted of the articles following.

ABSTRACT of the DEFINITIVE TREATY of PEACE *between the* EMPRESS QUEEN *and the* KING *of* PRUSSIA.

ART. I. THERE ſhall be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between the Apoſtolic Empreſs Queen on the one part, and the King of Pruſſia on the other, their heirs and ſucceſſors.

II. Every thing that has paſſed on either ſide, during the war, ſhall be buried in a general oblivion.

III. Both

III. Both parties renounce all claims on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the Empreſs Queen renounces all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the King of Pruſſia by the preliminary article of Breſlau and the treaty of Berlin) and alſo all indemnifications for damages ſuffered during the laſt war.

IV. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe in all parts from the day of ſigning this treaty.

V. In one and twenty days after the ratifications of this treaty are exchanged, the Empreſs Queen ſhall recall her troops from all parts of Germany that do not belong to her, and evacuate and reſtore to the King of Pruſſia the county of Glatz, and in general all places which he poſſeſſed before the war, in Sileſia, or elſe-where, and which have been occupied by the troops of the Empreſs Queen, or thoſe of her allies; the fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel and Gueldres, ſhall be reſtored in the condition they were in with regard to the fortifications (with the artillery) when taken. In the ſame ſpace of time the King of Pruſſia ſhall reſtore all places belonging to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, agreeably to the treaty concluded this day with that prince.

VI. All contributions, of what kind ſoever, all deliveries whatſoever, ſhall ceaſe on the ſigning of the treaty; no arrears of any kind ſhall be demanded; all bills of exchange, or other obligations in writing ſhall be void; all hoſtages ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty without ranſom.

VII. All priſoners of war, of whatever rank, ſhall be immediately reſtored without ranſom on payment of the debts they may have contracted in their captivity. The ſtates of the empire ſhall be included in this article.

VIII. The ſubjects of either party, forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, ſhall be diſcharged.

IX. The Empreſs Queen ſhall return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places reſtored to the King of Pruſſia.

X. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz ſhall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

XI. The King of Pruſſia ſhall confirm the nomination made by the Empreſs Queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the dutchies of Cleves and Guelders.

XII. The preliminaries of Breſlau, June 11, 1742; the treaty of Berlin, July, 28, 1742; the *Reces* of the limits of 1742; the treaty of Dreſden, Dec. 28, 1745, where they are

not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

XIII. The two parties purpoſe to ſettle a treaty of commerce as ſoon as poſſible; and in the mean time will favour the commerce between their countries.

XIV. The Roman Catholic religion ſhall be preſerved in Sileſia, as by the treaty of Dreſden, and all other privileges of the ſubjects.

XV. The two contracting powers ſhall renew Art. IX. and the ſeparate article of the treaty of Berlin, relative to the debts on Sileſia.

XVI. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions; thoſe belonging to the Empreſs Queen out of Germany excepted.

XVII. The King of Poland ſhall be comprehended in this treaty, on the footing of his treaty of this day with the King of Pruſſia.

XVIII. The King of Pruſſia will renew his convention with the Elector Palatine in 1741, relative to Juliers and Bergue.

XIX. The whole empire is comprehended in the ſtipulations of the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of this treaty; by which the peace of Weſtphalia, and all the other conſtitutions of the empire are confirmed.

XX. The allies and friends of the two parties ſhall be comprehended in this treaty: Power is reſerved to name them in a ſeparate article.

XXI. The ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged at Hubertſbourg, in 15 days, or ſooner.

Hubertsbourg, Feb. 15, 1763.

Thus having brought down our hiſtory to the ſigning of the Definitive Treaties of Peace, between the reſpective powers at war; we ſhall entertain our Readers with accounts of the conquered countries, by way of Appendix.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

An ACCOUNT *of the* GOVERNMENT *of* EAST *and* WEST FLORIDA.

THE limits of the new governments of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, being ſettled by Royal Proclamation, nothing more need be added on that head, than juſt to mention their ſituation, between the 25th and 31ſt degrees of North latitude, and between the 81ſt and 91ſt degrees of Weſt longitude from London. By this ſituation, the whole country may be ſuppoſed to be exceeding hot, eſpecially the ſouthernmoſt parts of it, but theſe are thinly inhabited: The navigation is dangerous, and the country, is broken and unimproveable. The climate of Weſt Florida, of which Penſacola is the capital, is extremely pure and wholeſome; the natives are healthy and ſtrong, and live to a good old age. The climate of Eaſt Florida is very unequal, and is chiefly inhabited on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides. St. Auguſtine, on the Eaſt, is the capital of this new government, and is a town of conſiderable trade, which doubtleſs will be much improved by the induſtry of the new ſettlers.

Sebaſtian Cabot is ſaid to be the firſt diſcoverer of this country, and was followed eighteen years afterwards, by one Ponce of Leon, who in queſt of the iſlands of Boiuca, in which the Indians affirmed was a ſpring, the virtue of whoſe waters was to reſtore youth, fell in with the land of Florida on Eaſter-day, in 1512, which, according to the Spaniſh phraſe, is the flouriſhing day of Paſcha, from whence it derives its name.

The ſoil of many parts of Florida is remarkably fertile, and may be cultivated to great advantage; and it is affirmed, but upon what authority we know not, that grapes may, with proper care, be ripened to maturity, and wine extracted from them, as in Europe; an excellence not yet diſcovered in any other part of North America. The ſea-coaſt is every where flat, ſandy, and full of ſhoals; and on the ſhore oyſters are found in plenty, and the bays abound with fiſh.

The inland country is plentifully ſtock'd with cattle, whoſe hair is ſo fine, that, with a proper mixture of furr or wool, it is capable of being manufactured into hats or cloth. Horſes are more generally uſed in theſe countries, and are cheaper, than in any of our other ſettlements abroad. The foreſts abound with wild beaſts, the plains with birds of various kinds,

and the rivers with fowl and fiſh; and, in ſhort, by the beſt accounts that are yet extant, there appears to be no want of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life; nor is the climate ſo intolerably hot as to affect the health of thoſe who may think fit to ſettle there.

Cochineal and Indigo are among the natural productions of this country; and ambergriſe is found in abundance on the ſouthernmoſt coaſts.

The native Indians of Florida are perhaps the handſomeſt people in America; their complexion is rather inclining to olive than copper; their eyes are black and piercing, their bodies robuſt, and their limbs finely turn'd: Their women ſwim the rivers, climb trees, and are in general ſo remarkably ſwift, that racing among them is a favourite diverſion.

Before the Spaniards poſſeſſed themſelves of Florida, the natives had a kind of civil government, the traces of which they preſerve to this day. They were divided into petty ſtates, who generally warred with each other, and who ſtill continue the ſame practice. By the natural antipathy of theſe ſtates to each other, and their propenſity to bloodſhed, any conſiderable increaſe in their numbers is prevented; but they are, notwithſtanding, all together very troubleſome neighbours, as they unite in an unſurmountable averſion to the Spaniards, and perhaps to Europeans in general for their ſakes, owing to the treachery of the firſt ſettlers. The following inſtance will account for this prejudice: *Luke Vaſquez*, a *Mexican Spaniard*, being in want of hands to work in the mines, formed a deſign of ſupplying his numbers by fraud or violence; with this view he fitted out two veſſels, and landing on the coaſt of Florida, the uncommon appearance of his ſhips drew numbers of the inhabitants to the ſhore, whoſe curioſity was increaſed by the more extraordinary appearance of their crews: Two of theſe ſpectators, who appeared more enterprizing than the reſt, were inticed on board, and being entertained with the ſight of all that was rare, were refreſhed with wine, and feaſted with meats ſeaſoned after the European manner, and then courteouſly conducted on ſhore, and diſmiſſed. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; the great men of the country came down, numerouſly attended, invited the Spaniards to their reſpective places of reſidence, ſhew'd them all that was rare in their country, gave them gold, and whatever elſe they admired as precious, and expreſſed the higheſt veneration for beings, whom they looked upon as viſitors from heaven, infinitely ſuperior in every reſpect to themſelves. When the Spaniards had thus far ſucceeded, and had ſupplied their ſhips with

with provisions and water, they then gave a general invitation to the Indians, to partake of an entertainment, such as had been given to their two brethren. The Indians crowded on board, each eager to gratify his curiosity, rather than his appetite, and the Spaniards discovered a particular pleasure in obliging them; and, under pretence of increasing their wonder, they spread their sails and weigh'd up their anchors; and being thus prepared for their departure, invited them to feast. To engage them more effectually to partake of the banquet, they provided the most savoury meats; and having ranged their guests in the best order they could, sat down with them, served them with wine, and drank freely with them themselves, till perceiving they grew warm, they ply'd them with a more intoxicating liquor, till they tumbled down one after another, stupidly drunk. In this situation, the treacherous Spaniards coupled them together with chains, conveyed them into the holds of their ships, and then closed the hatches, and suffered them to sleep till they recovered their senses. In the mean time they put to sea, and, to the terror and annoyance of the spectators on shore, they wantonly discharged their broadsides in token of triumph, kill'd some, and dispersed the rest. The unhappy captives, when they awoke and discovered their situation, expressed their sorrow by the most piercing cries; many of them refused all sustenance, and obstinately met death by hunger; others pined away, broken-hearted; and many perished in one of the vessels that foundered in the passage; and the few that survived were dragged into cruel and hopeless slavery.

This act of treachery, however, cost the contriver of it dear; for Vasquez, allured by the gold, silver, and jewels, which he observed in his excursions into the country, returned to Florida in a few years after with a greater force; but the memory of his treachery remained deep in the hearts of the injured natives: Two hundred of his men were cut off in one night, some of his ships perished at sea, and he himself, impoverished and disappointed, died of a broken heart soon after his return home.

The Indians have some traces of religion, or rather superstition, among them, by which their actions are in a great measure influenced. Their adoration is paid chiefly to the Sun and Moon; but they hold in great esteem a kind of holy men among them, who are consulted upon all occasions of danger and distress, and whose advice is implicitly obeyed. In these consultations, however, they distinguish between the enterprize, and the means of attaining it: For example, as

to

to the fortunate hour of commencing a war, they conſult the holy men; but how the war ſhall be carried into execution, is debated in a general council of war held in preſence of their chiefs; the determination of which was never known to be betrayed to an enemy by any of the members preſent, though endeavoured to be extorted by the moſt cruel tortures. They are implacable enemies, but faithful friends: They have an utter abhorrence of ſlavery, and rather chuſe to die by the moſt tormenting deaths, than be ſold by their enemies for ſlaves; eſteeming nothing ſo horrible to nature as ſlavery, and dreading the tyranny of Chriſtians more than the deprivation of life. This temper keeps them at a diſtance from the Spaniſh ſettlements, which they ſeldom viſit but upon extraordinary occaſions.

The Spaniards are no leſs cautious of truſting the Indians; though ſome, at the riſque of life, venture among them in purſuit of trade.

We have already taken notice, that St. Auguſtine and Penſacola are the chief cities in the Eaſt and Weſt governments of Florida; but Penſacola being ſituated in the Gulph of Mexico, has, by that means, ſome advantages over St. Auguſtine.

It has been generally ſuſpected, that the commerce privately carried on by the iſlanders in the Weſt Indies, furniſhes the continent of North America with moſt of its ſilver coin. As this traffic may, with equal convenience, be carried on from Weſt Florida, there is no doubt but the new inhabitants will endeavour to avail themſelves of the fruits of it.

A thorough knowledge of the coaſt, and navigation of the gulph, is indeed neceſſary for this trade; but a little practice will ſoon enable an induſtrious adventurer to ſurmount all difficulties, and enrich himſelf by means equally juſt and laudable, though prohibited by the Spaniards to every nation but their own. The immenſe gain which this trade produces will probably ſoon make Weſt Florida be numbered among our moſt flouriſhing colonies; and the ſituation of Eaſt Florida, by its neighbourhood to Cuba, will likewiſe ſhare advantages, of which the remoter colonies cannot be partakers. And as the profits ariſing from theſe acquiſitions will finally center in the mother country, the importance of the late ceſſions to Great-Britain may from theſe conſiderations be deduced.

An ACCOUNT of that Part of LOUISIANA, on this ſide Miſſiſſippi, ceded to Great-Britain, by the Peace.

THE Sea-coaſt along the gulph of Mexico, from the Miſſiſſippi to Florida, is entirely cover'd with tall pines, which afford great ſtore of pitch, tar, and turpentine, and make good maſts for ſhips; which will laſt twenty years, tho' our common maſts of the New England white pine will often decay in three or four years. Theſe pines are of that kind that is called the *pitch pine*, and *lightwood pine*, of which a ſhip was built that ran for ſixteen years, and was then as ſound, and rather harder than at firſt, except her oak timbers, which were rotten. The ſwamps on this coaſt alſo abound with cypreſs, which is equally ſerviceable both for maſts and for ſhip building; and ſhips might be built of both theſe timbers for half the price of any others, both on account of the vaſt plenty of them, and of their being ſo eaſily worked.

Upper Louiſiana lies to the Northward of the Apalachian mountains, in latitude thirty-five degrees. This country is in many places hilly and mountainous, and conſequently not ſo fertile as the plains below it; but thoſe hills on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi are generally ſuſpected to contain mines, as well as the mountains of New Mexico, of which they are a continuation. But the fertile plains of Louiſiana would be more valuable than all the mines of Mexico, if they were duly cultivated; they would breed and maintain ten times as many people, and ſupply them with many more neceſſaries and articles of trade and navigation than the richeſt mines of Peru.

The moſt import place in this country, and perhaps in all North America, is at the Forks of the Miſſiſſippi, where the Ohio falls into that river, which, like another ocean, is the general receptacle of all the rivers that water the interior parts of that vaſt continent: Thoſe large and navigable rivers the Ohio, river of the Cherokees, Wabache, Ilinois, Miſſouri, and Miſſiſſippi, beſides many others which ſpread over that whole continent from the Apalachian mountains to the mountains of New Mexico, upwards of one thouſand miles both North and South, and Eaſt and Weſt, all meet together at this ſpot in the beſt climate, and one of the moſt fruitful countries in that part of the world, being in latitude thirty-ſeven deg. The latitudes of the Capes of Virginia, and of Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico; by that means there is a convenient navigation to this place from our preſent ſet-

tlements

tlements to New Mexico, and from all the inland parts of North America, farther than we are acquainted with it: This place is, indeed, the center of that vaſt continent, and of all the nations in it, and ſeems to be intended by nature to command them both.

The Miſſiſſippi is navigable upwards of two thouſand miles to the falls of St. Anthony in latitude forty-five deg. the only fall we know in it, which is ſixteen degrees of latitude above its mouth, and even above that fall there is thirty fathom of water, with a proportionable breadth. About one thouſand miles from its mouth it receives the river Ohio, which is navigable one thouſand miles farther, ſome ſay fifteen hundred, nigh to its ſource, not far from lake Ontario in New York, in all which ſpace there is but one fall in the Ohio, and that navigable both up and down, at leaſt in canoes. This fall is three hundred miles from the Miſſiſſippi, and thirteen hundred from the ſea, with five fathom of water up to it. The other large branches of the Ohio, the river of the Cherokees, and Wabache, afford a like navigation from lake Erie in the north, to the Cherokees in the ſouth, and from thence to the bay of Mexico by the Miſſiſſippi, not to mention the great river Miſſouri, which runs to the north-weſt parts of New-Mexico much farther than we have any good accounts of that continent. From this it appears that the Miſſiſſippi affords the moſt extenſive navigation of any river we know, ſo that it may juſtly be compared to an inland ſea, which ſpreads over nine tenths of all the continent of North America, all which the French pretended to lay claim to for no other reaſon but becauſe they were poſſeſſed of a paltry ſettlement at the mouth of this river.

As we are now about to make ſettlements in this country, it may be of ſome uſe to publiſh the following cautions and remarks, which were drawn up by a planter who had reſided in it above ſixteen years.

I. The diſputes and wars that have happened between the natives and ſettlers, have generally ariſen from a too familiar intercourſe, which gradually leſſens the reſpect which the natives entertain for Europeans.

II. The traffickers, or traders, who are generally young men, without experience, eſpecially in new ſettlements, very often give the natives intelligence, and acquaint them with various particulars that are prejudicial to our intereſt, under a notion of gaining their good will.

III. It is alſo but too common for theſe traders, and indeed for the ſettlers in general, to accept of the offer of young women

women, which it is the cuſtom of the natives to make to their gueſts, a practice greatly injurious to their health and their intereſts.

IV. It is very injudicious for new ſettlers to fix themſelves very near a ſettlement of the natives; this never fails to raiſe a jealouſy and ill-will; for the natives are very unwilling that others ſhould ſee or know their affairs, and much diſpleaſed at frequent viſits.

To theſe we ſhall add a brief account of the produce of the country, and the manner of cultivating it.

To clear the woods of this country, which are generally thick ſet with cane, cut the canes down, and about the beginning of March bark the trees quite round, from the ground to about the height of two feet; in about three weeks the canes will be extremely dry, and the trees alſo will be ſufficiently dry to burn; ſet fire therefore to the canes, which will burn fiercely; the trees will after a ſhort time catch the flame, and all burn to the ground together, their aſhes will fertilize it in the higheſt degree. In a day or two afterwards the ground will be fit for tillage.

The chief products of the country are,

1. *Maize, or Indian Corn.* To ſow Maize, make holes in the ground, about four feet aſunder each way, making the rows as ſtraight as poſſible, that it may be more eaſily weeded. Into every hole put five or ſix grains of the Maize, having firſt ſteeped them about twenty-four hours in water to make them ſhoot the quicker. They muſt be guarded by day againſt the birds, and fires muſt be made at night to fright away the foxes, which would otherwiſe turn up all the ground, and eat the Corn out of every row, one after another. As ſoon as the Corn ſhoots it muſt be weeded, but little will be found to remove except freſh ſhoots from the cane roots: When its ſtalks come to be about an inch thick, it muſt be hilled, to ſecure it againſt the wind. The increaſe of this Corn is ſo great, that two negroes are ſufficient to do whatever is requiſite for producing a harveſt of fifty barrels, each barrel weighing one hundred and fifty pounds weight. Of this Corn parched meal is the beſt preparation, and is thus made: Parboil the Corn in water, then drain it and dry it well, then roaſt it; when it is become red, put it into a mortar, with the aſhes of dried ſtalks of kidney-beans and a little water; beat it gently; when it is turned into meal, dry it in the Sun, and it will keep, if now and then expoſed to the Sun many months. To make it into food, mix two thirds water with one third meal; in a few minutes the mixture ſwells greatly, and is

fit to eat; it is extremely nouriſhing, and mixed with milk and a little ſugar, may be ſerved up to the beſt tables. From Maize may be made a very ſtrong and well taſted beer, and by diſtillation it produces an excellent brandy.

II. Rye, barley, oats, and wheat, thrive exceedingly in this country; but wheat muſt not be ſowed alone, but mixed with rye and dry mould in ſuch a proportion that the dry mould ſhall be equal to the rye and wheat together: If this precaution is not uſed, it will grow wonderfully at firſt, but when it is in flower, a great number of drops of a red water may be obſerved at the bottom of the ſtalk, about ſix inches from the ground, which are collected during the night, and diſappear at ſun-riſing; this water is ſo acid, that it conſumes the ſtalk, and the ear falls before the grain is formed: Land that has lately been a wood contains an acid which produces this water; the rye and mould abſorb the acid, and preſerve the wheat.

III. Rice flouriſhes greatly here. It muſt be ſown in a ſoil well laboured either with the plough or hoe, and in winter, that it may be in the ground before the rains; it muſt alſo be ſowed in furrows of the breadth of a hoe: When it is three or four inches high, it is uſual to let water into the furrows; but this is not abſolutely neceſſary. Two crops may be reaped from the ſame plant, but it is neceſſary to flood the ſecond.

IV. Beans of various kinds: Theſe are treated as in England.

V. Potatoes, differing very little from ours, and taſting ſomething like a cheſnut. They are cultivated thus: Raiſe the ground in little hills, or high furrows, about a foot and a half over; cut the potatoes into ſmall pieces, with an eye in each; plant four or five of theſe in the head of each hill: In a ſhort time they will puſh out ſhoots; cut off theſe ſhoots about the middle of Auguſt, within ſeven or eight inches of the ground; plant them double croſs-ways on the tops of the hills; the roots of theſe ſhoots are excellent. To keep them in winter, dry them in the Sun as ſoon as they are dug up, and then lay them in a cloſe and dry place, covering them firſt with aſhes, then with dry mould.

VI. Melons of many kinds, all excellent, greatly exceeding thoſe in England. There is nothing peculiar in their cultivation.

VII. All ſorts of garden plants and greens thrive here; but onions, and bulbous plants, give ſome trouble in the low lands, as they naturally require a dry, light earth.

VIII. The

VIII. The country abounds with that kind of mulberry-trees, the leaves of which the ſilk-worms are moſt fond of. This country may therefore produce ſilk in great quantities.

IX. *Indigo.* The grain of the Indigo is ſown in a ſoil prepared like a garden: Holes are made in a ſtrait line with a ſmall hoe a foot aſunder, four or five ſeeds are put in each hole, and covered with earth: When the leaf, which gives the blue called Indigo, is wholly expanded, it exactly reſembles that of the acacia. The ſhoots are cut before the wood hardens, and while they are green as the leaf, having however a blueiſh caſt, with a pruning hook or ſtrong ſickle. Indigo ſhoots higher or lower, as the ſoil is better or worſe; the tuft of the firſt cutting is generally about eight inches high, the ſecond cutting ſometimes riſes to a foot: He that cuts it ought to ſet his foot upon the root, to prevent its being forced out of the earth, by its reſiſtance to the knife.

To prepare Indigo from theſe tufts, they are ſoaked in water and macerated; the water is carefully drawn off, and the colour remains behind in a kind of pap, which is put into cloth bags to drain, and then ſpread in the mould with a wooden knife, or ſpatula.

X. *Tobacco.* To ſow tobacco make a bed of the beſt ground ſix inches high; ſow the ſeed thin, cover it with aſhes to the thickneſs of a farthing, to prevent worms from eating the firſt ſhoots, and gently ſprinkle it towards evening, if no rain falls. When the ſhoot has four leaves, tranſplant into holes a foot broad made with a line, diſtant from each other three feet every way: It ſhould be tranſplanted after the rain, otherwiſe it muſt be watered, and the plant ſhould be lightly covered in the day-time with ſome leaves plucked the night before; it muſt be carefully cleared from caterpillars. When the ſtem begins to turn yellow, cut the ſtalk with a pruning knife, and leave it on the ground to deaden; then carry it off in hand barrows, and hang it up in the houſe, with the top of the plant downwards, the leaves lightly touching one another, for they will ſoon ſhrivel, and hang ſeparate; when theſe leaves are of a bright cheſnut colour, ſtrip them from the ſtalk, and make them into bundles.

XI. *Cotton.* This plant may be cultivated in lands newly cleared, and not yet proper for tobacco, much leſs for Indigo. The ſeeds of cotton are planted about three feet aſunder, and at a proper time freſh earth muſt be laid to the root, to ſecure them againſt the wind. When this is done, and it is kept weeded, it grows without farther tendance or labour to maturity: Then its pods open in five parts, and diſcover the

cotton. When the Sun has ſufficiently dried it, it is gathered, and to gather it is the employment of children and old people, incapable of harder labour; it muſt then be ſeparated from the grain, or ſeed, to which it cloſely adheres.

The cultivation of Indigo, Tobacco, and Cotton, may be eaſily carried on without interruption to the making of ſilk; for the work they require does not come on till the worms have ſpun their ſilk; and the worms may be fed and cleaned by children, whether negroes or others, who are capable of little elſe.

XII. Hops grow naturally here, and may be cultivated as in England.

We ſhall now conſider the commodities which Louiſiana may furniſh in return for thoſe of Europe.

I. Dry buffaloes hides, and their tallow. Theſe may be procured by killing the old bulls, which are ſo fat as to be ſcarce able to walk; each will yield about a hundred weight of tallow, and the ſpecies would not be leſſened; for theſe fat buffaloes are always made a prey of by the wolves.

II. Deer-ſkins.

III. Wax produced in great plenty by the wax-tree.

IV. Timber for ſhip-building. This may be obtained of the inhabitants at a very low price, becauſe they would get it in winter when they would otherwiſe be idle. This timber conſiſts of oak, fir, elm, aſh, alder and cypreſs. The cypreſs is excellent for planking; it is, indeed, ſomewhat ſofter than oak, but it is light, not apt to ſplit or warp, it is ſupple, and eaſily worked, and it is incorruptible both in air and water. Another great advantage of this wood is, that no worm on ſhore will touch it, and therefore there is ſome reaſon to hope that it will not be injured by the ſhip-worm.

V. Maſts, the country abounding in pines.

VI. Pitch and tar.

VII. Woods for joiners work, and finireing, particularly the black walnut and the cotton-tree.

VIII. Salt-petre of the fineſt quality may be made here in any quantity.

IX. Silk might make a very valuable article of commerce, and ſaffron, which the Spaniards of Mexico, who conſume great quantities of it, would take at a good price.

X. Hemp; Cotton; Indigo; Tobacco; Rice; Drugs uſed in Medicine, and for dying, particularly *ſaſſafras*, *ſarſaparilla*, *eſquine*, and *copaim*, or *ſweet gum*, *ſtinkingwood*, or *ayac* for *yellow*, and *achetchi* for *red*.

In return for theſe commodities we may ſend all ſorts of European goods and merchandiſe.

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The commerce of Louiſiana with the iſlands, conſiſts of, Cypreſs-wood, in plank of ten or twelve feet, and alſo ſquared for building of different ſcantlings; Bricks; Tiles for covering houſes and ſheds; Apalachian beans, called alſo Garavanzas; Maize, or Indian corn; Red peas; Cleaned rice——Upon theſe goods the profit is generally *cent. per cent.* and the ſhipping brings back ſugar, coffee, rum, and other goods.

The commerce with Spain may be carried on in the following articles:

The Spaniards bring Campeachy-wood; Brazil-wood; Cochineal; Tortoiſe-ſhell; Tanned leather; Marroquin, or Spaniſh leather; Tanned calf; Havannah ſnuff; Vanilla.

To this account of the articles of commerce in Louiſiana, we ſhall add the following remarks, which, at this time, are very intereſting objects of public attention.

The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, and a port at the mouth of it, and ſettlements upon it, are ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that no advantage can be made of Louiſiana to Britain without them,

There is no acceſs, but by this river, to the interior parts of North America, and whoever is in poſſeſſion of the navigation of this river, and the vaſt tracts of fertile land upon it, muſt command the continent, its trade, and its natives; and if the French are in poſſeſſion of the Miſſiſſippi, while we neglect it, they muſt command all that continent beyond the Apalachian mountains, and diſturb our ſettlements more than they ever did, or were able to do; the very thing they engaged in the late war to accompliſh, and we to prevent.

The Miſſiſſippi is very rapid as far as the Miſſouri, which is about twelve hundred miles from its mouth, which, tho' it makes it difficult of aſcent, yet facilitates the conveyance of the groſs commodities down it, which conſtitute the chief ſtaple of North America. The worſt part of the navigation is at the mouth of the river, but if the river was cleared of a narrow bar in the Paſſes, a port might be made for ſhips of any burthen; this port would command all the inland parts of North America on the one ſide, and the Paſs from Mexico on the other, ſo that in theſe reſpects it would be preferable even to the Havannah, not to mention that it is freſh water, and free from worms.

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The voyage from the Miſſiſſippi to Europe may be performed in ſix weeks, for ſhips are carried thither by the trade-winds, and brought back by the currents.

The trade of North America, however inconſiderable its pecuniary produce, is more profitable to us than the mines of Mexico and Peru; for it conſiſts of thoſe bulky commodities that are the chief ſources of navigation, which maintain whole countries to furniſh them, whole fleets to tranſport them, and incredible numbers of people to manufacture them at home: If we compare this with the ſugar-trade, or even the fiſhery, it will appear of much the greater national advantage than either, or even than both, though they may be beſt calculated to enrich a few individuals. We ſet a great value upon the fiſhery; but it does not employ a third part of the ſeamen that are employed by the plantation trade. The tobacco trade alone employs more ſeamen in Britain, than either the fiſhery or the ſugar-trade.

By the beſt calculation that can be made, forty-five hundred ſeamen are employed in the tobacco trade; and the number employed in All America, including the fiſhery, is about ſeventeen thouſand beſides nine or ten thouſand ſeamen belonging to North America, who are all ready to enter into the ſervice of Britain, on any emergency or encouragement.

The French, on the other hand, employ upwards of twenty thouſand ſeamen in the fiſhery, ſo that the plantation trade of North America is to us, what the fiſhery is to them, the great nurſery for the navy; and therefore this nation ought, for its own ſafety, to enjoy an excluſive right to one or the other of them.

The advantages of lands that produce a ſtaple for Britain, in North America, are innumerable. The whole intereſt of the nation in thoſe colonies depends upon them, if not the colonies themſelves. Such lands alone enable the colonies to procure manufactures and other neceſſaries from Britain, to the mutual advantage of both; and how neceſſary that is, will appear from the ſtate of thoſe colonies in North America, which are not able to procure the ſingle article of cloathing; not to mention the many other things they want for Britain. In ſhort, it will appear that our colonies in North America could not ſubſiſt much longer, in a ſtate of dependence for all their manufactures and other neceſſaries, without other lands that may enable them to purchaſe them; and they can find no ſuch lands but upon the Miſſiſſippi. When their lands are worn out, are poor and barren, or in an improper climate or ſituation, ſo that they will produce nothing to ſend to Britain,

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ſuch lands can only be converted into corn and paſture grounds; and the people in our colonies are therefore neceſſarily obliged, for a bare ſubſiſtence, to interfere with Britain, not only in manufactures, but in the very produce of their lands.

By this we may perceive the abſurdity of the popular outcry, that we had land enough, and more than we could make uſe of, in North America, before the laſt ceſſion. The authors of that outcry derive their opinion from what they ſee in Europe, where the quantity of land that we poſſeſs in North America will, no doubt, maintain a greater number of people than we have there. But they ſhould conſider, that thoſe people in Europe are not maintained by the planting of a bare raw commodity, with ſuch immenſe charges upon it, but by farming, manufactures, trade, and commerce; which they will ſoon reduce our colonies to, who would confine them to their ſettlements, between the ſea-coaſt and the mountains that ſurround them.

Some of our colonies perhaps may imagine, they cannot ſubſiſt without theſe employments; but that ſeems to be as contrary to their true intereſt, as it is to their condition of Britiſh colonies. They have neither ſkill, materials, nor any other conveniencies to make manufactures; whereas their lands require only culture to produce a ſtaple commodity, provided they are poſſeſſed of ſuch as are fit for that purpoſe. Manufactures are the produce of labour, which is both ſcarce and dear among them; whereas lands are, or may and ſhould be made, both cheap and in plenty; by which they may always reap much greater profits from the one than the other. That is, moreover, a certain pledge for the allegiance and dependance of the colonies, and at the ſame time makes their dependance to become their intereſt. It has been found by frequent experience, that the making of a ſtaple commodity for Britain is more profitable than manufactures, provided they have good lands to work.

It were to be wiſhed, indeed, that we could ſupport our intereſt in America, and thoſe ſources of navigation, by countries that were more convenient to it than thoſe on the Miſſiſſippi. But that is not to be done. We wiſh we could ſay as much of the lands in Florida, and in the bay of Mexico, as of thoſe on the Miſſiſſippi; but they are not to be compared to theſe, however convenient they may be in other reſpects to navigation. In all thoſe ſouthern and maritime parts of that continent, the lands are, in general, but very poor and mean, being little more than *pine barrens*, or *ſandy deſarts*. The climate is at the ſame time ſo intemperate, that white

white people are in a great meaſure unfit for labour in it, as much as they are in the iſlands; this obliges them to make uſe of ſlaves, which are now become ſo dear, that it is to be doubted whether all the produce of thoſe lands will enable the proprietors of them to purchaſe ſlaves, or any other labourers, without which they can turn to little or no account to the nation, and thoſe countries can ſupport but very few people if it were only to protect and defend them.

If we turn our eyes to the lands in our Northern colonies, it is to be feared we can expect much leſs from them. The climate is ſo ſevere, and the winters ſo long, that the people are obliged to ſpend that time in providing the neceſſaries of life, which ſhould be employed in profitable colonies, on the making of ſome ſtaple commodity and returns to Britain. They are obliged to feed their creatures for five or ſix months in the year, which employs their time in ſummer, and takes up the beſt of their lands, ſuch as they are, which ſhould produce their ſtaple commodities, to provide for themſelves and their ſtocks againſt winter. For that reaſon, the people in all our Northern colonies are neceſſarily obliged to become farmers, to make corn and proviſions, inſtead of planters, who make a ſtaple commodity for Britain, and thereby interfere with their mother country in the moſt material and eſſential of all employments to a nation, agriculture.

In ſhort, neither the ſoil nor climate will admit of any improvement for Britain, in any of thoſe Northern colonies. If they would produce any thing of that kind, it muſt be hemp, which never could be made in them to any advantage, as appears from many trials of it in New England. The great dependance of thoſe Northern colonies is upon the ſupplies of lumber and proviſions which they ſend to the iſlands. But as they increaſe and multiply, their woods are cut down, lumber becomes ſcarce and dear, and the number of people inhances the value of land, and of every thing it produces, eſpecially proviſions.

If this is the caſe of thoſe Northern colonies on the ſea-coaſt, what can we expect from the inland parts, in which the ſoil is not only more barren, and the climate more ſevere; but they are, with all theſe diſadvantages, ſo inconvenient to navigation both on account of diſtance, and of the many falls and currents in the river St. Laurence, that it is to be feared thoſe inland parts of our Northern colonies will never produce any thing for Britain more than a few furs, which they will do much better in the hands of the natives than in ours.

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Theſe our Northern colonies, however, are very populous, and multiply very faſt. They are above a million of people in them, who can make but very little upon their lands for themſelves, and ſtill leſs for their mother-country. For theſe reaſons, it is preſumed, it would be an advantage to them, as well as to the whole nation, to remove their ſpare people who want lands, to thoſe vacant lands in the Southern parts of the continent, which turn to ſo much greater account than any they are poſſeſſed of. There they may have the neceſſaries of life in the greateſt plenty; their ſtocks maintain themſelves the whole year round with little or no coſt or labour, "by which means many people have 1000 head of "cattle, and for one man to have 200 is very common, with other ſtock in proportion." This enables them to beſtow their whole labour, both in ſummer and winter, on the making of ſome ſtaple commodity for Britain, getting lumber and proviſions for the iſlands, &c. which both enriches them and the whole nation. That is much better, ſurely, than to periſh in winter for want of cloathing, which they muſt do unleſs they make it, and to excite jealouſies between them and their mother-country.

The many advantages that would enſue from the peopling of thoſe Southern parts of the continent from our Northern colonies, are hardly to be told. We might thereby people and ſecure thoſe countries, and reap the profits of them without any loſs of people, which are not to be ſpared for that purpoſe in Britain, or any other of her dominions. This is the great uſe and advantage that may be made of the expulſion of the French from thoſe Northern parts of America. They have hitherto obliged us to ſtrengthen thoſe Northern colonies, and have confined the people in them to towns and townſhips, in which their labour could turn to no great account, either to themſelves or to the nation; by which we have, in a great meaſure, loſt the labour of one half of the people in our colonies. But as they are now free from any danger on their borders, they may extend their ſettlements with ſafety, diſperſe themſelves on plantations, and cultivate thoſe lands that may turn to ſome account both to them and to the whole nation. In ſhort, they may now make ſome ſtaple commodity for Britain, on which the intereſt of the colonies, and of the nation in them, chiefly depends.

What thoſe commodities are that we might get from thoſe Southern parts of North America, appears from the preceding account; particularly hemp, flax, and ſilk, thoſe great articles and neceſſary materials of manufactures, for which, alone,

this nation pays at leaſt a million and an half a year, if not two millions, and could never get them from all the colonies we have. Cotton and Indigo are equally uſeful: not to mention copper, iron, pot-aſh, &c. which, with hemp, flax, and ſilk, make the great balance of trade againſt the nation, and drain it of its treaſure, when we might have theſe commodities from our colonies for manufactures, and both ſupply ourſelves and others with them. Wine, oil, raiſins, and currants, &c. thoſe products of France and Spain on which Britain ſpends ſo much of her treaſure to enrich her enemies, might likewiſe be had from thoſe her own dominions. Britain might thereby cut off thoſe reſources of her enemies, ſecure her colonies for the future, and prevent ſuch calamities of war, by cultivating thoſe more laudable arts of peace; which will be the more neceſſary, as theſe are the only advantages the nation can expect for the many millions that have been expended on America.

An ACCOUNT of the NATIVES of CANADA, and LOUISIANA, *with their Manners, Cuſtoms, &c.*

THE ſavages of Canada are generally well made, and of a lofty ſtature; but it is not unuſual in ſome nations to ſee ſome of only a middle ſtature; but it is very uncommon to ſee any that are deformed, or that have any outward blemiſh. They are robuſt, and of a healthy conſtitution: They would be very long lived, if they ſpared themſelves a little more; but the greateſt part ruin their conſtitutions by forced marches, deſparate faſtings, and great exceſſes in eating. Beſides that, during their childhood, they have often their naked feet in the water, on the ſnow and ice. The brandy which the Europeans have ſupplied them with, and for which they have ſuch a ſtrong inclination, that exceeds all that can be ſaid of it, and which they always drink till they are drunk, has compleated their ruin, and has not a little contributed to the deſtruction of all theſe nations, which are at preſent reduced to leſs than the twentieth part of what they were an hundred and fifty years ago. If this continues, they will become entirely extinct.

Their bodies are not confined in their infancy like ours, and nothing is more proper to make their joints free, and to give them that ſuppleneſs in all their limbs, which we ſo much admire in them, than this liberty, and the exerciſes to which the children there are accuſtomed very early. The mothers

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ſuckle them a long time, and there are ſome, that at ſix or ſeven years old ſtill take the breaſt. Nevertheleſs, this does not hinder them from taking all kinds of food the firſt year: In ſhort, the open air to which they are expoſed, the fatigues they make them ſuffer, but by little and little, and in a manner proportioned to their age, with plain and natural food; all this forms bodies capable of performing and of ſuffering incredible things; the exceſs of which, as I have already obſerved, deſtroys many before they arrive at an age of maturity. We have ſeen ſome, after their ſtomachs were ſwelled four inches, ſtill continue eating as heartily as if they had juſt begun. When they find themſelves overcharged, they ſmoke, then they ſleep, and when they wake the digeſtion is generally perfected. Sometimes they take an emetic, after which they begin to eat again.

In the Southern countries they have but little reſtraint in the article of women; who, on their ſide, are very laſcivious. From hence ariſes the corruption of manners, which for ſome years paſt has infected the northern nations. The Iroquois, in particular, were chaſte enough, till they were converſant with the Illinois, and other neighbouring people of Louiſiana: They have gained nothing by their acquaintance with them, but adopting their vices. It is certain, that effeminacy and luſt were carried in thoſe parts to the greateſt exceſs. There were amongſt them ſome men, who were not aſhamed to dreſs themſelves like women, and ſubmit to all the employments that belonged to the women; from whence there followed a corruption that cannot be expreſſed. Some have pretended, that this cuſtom came from I know not what principle of religion; but this religion, like many others, has taken its riſe from the depravation of the heart; or if this cuſtom took its riſe from the ſpirit, it ended in the fleſh. Theſe effeminate perſons never marry, and abandon themſelves to the moſt infamous paſſions; they are alſo treated with the utmoſt contempt.

On the other hand, though the women are ſtrong and luſty, they are unfruitful. Beſides the reaſons I have already menteioned, that is to ſay, the time they take to ſuckle their children, their cuſtom of continence all this time, and the exceſſive labours they are obliged to undergo, in whatſoever condition they find themſelves; this barrenneſs proceeds alſo from the cuſtom eſtabliſhed in many places, which permits young women to proſtitute themſelves before they are married: Add to this, the extreme neceſſity to which theſe people are often reduced, and which takes away their deſire of having children.

For the reſt, it is certain, that they have great advantages over us; and I conſider, as the chief of all, the perfectneſs of their ſenſes, either internal or external. In ſpite of the ſnow, which dazzles their eyes, and the ſmoke, which almoſt ſmothers them for ſix months in the year, their ſight never decays. Their hearing is extremely quick, and their ſmelling ſo exquiſite, that they ſmell fire a long time before they can diſcover it. On account of the exquiſiteneſs, of their ſmell, they cannot bear the ſcent of muſk, nor any ſtrong ſmell. They ſay alſo, that they like no odours, but thoſe of eatables.

Their apprehenſion is very wonderful: It is enough for them to have been but once in a place, to have an exact idea of it, which is never effaced. If a foreſt is ever ſo large and pathleſs, they croſs it without wandering, when they have well conſidered certain marks, by which they guide themſelves.

The inhabitants of Acadia, and of the environs of the Gulf of St. Laurence, in paſſing with their canoes over to Terre de Labrador, (New Britain) to ſeek out the Eſkimaux, with whom they were at war, would go thirty or forty leagues on the main ſea without a compaſs, and make the land exactly at the place they propoſed. In the moſt cloudy weather they will follow the ſun many days, without making any miſtake: The beſt clock cannot give us better information of the progreſs of the ſun, than they can, only by viewing the ſky; ſo that do what you can to put them out of their way, it is very rare that they loſe their route. They are born with this talent; it is not the fruit of their obſervations, nor of long cuſtom: Youth, who never before went out of their village, travel as ſecurely as thoſe who have been moſt uſed to range the country.

The beauty of their imagination is equal to its vivacity, and this appears in all their diſcourſe. They are quick at repartee, and their ſpeeches are full of ſhining paſſages, that would have been applauded in the public aſſembles at Rome and Athens. Their eloquence has ſomething in it ſo ſtrong, ſo natural, ſo pathetic, that art cannot attain, and which the Greeks admired in the barbarians: And though it does not appear to be ſupported by action, though they make no geſtures, and do not raiſe their voice, we feel that they are throughly affected with what they ſay, and their eloquence is perſuaſive.

It would be ſtrange, that with ſuch a fine imagination, they ſhould not have an excellent memory. They are deſtitute of all the helps we have invented to aſſiſt ours, or to ſupply its defect; nevertheleſs it is ſcarcely credible of how many matters, with what particular circumſtances, and

and with how much order they treat in their councils. On ſome occaſions, however, they uſe little ſticks, to recollect the articles they are to diſcuſs; and by this they form a ſort of local memory ſo certain, that they will ſpeak four or five hours together, will diſplay twenty preſents, each of which requires an intire diſcourſe, without forgetting any thing, or even without heſitation. Their narration is clear and exact; and tho' they uſe many allegories, and other figures, it is animated, and has all the pleaſing turns that their language affords.

They have a true and ſolid judgment, and go directly to the mark in view, without ſtopping, without wandering, and without being put on a wrong ſcent. They readily conceive all that is within the compaſs of their knowledge; but to put them in a way of ſucceeding in the arts, without which they have lived hitherto, as they have not the leaſt idea of them, it would require a great deal of labour, and the more ſo, as they have the higheſt contempt for every thing which they do not find neceſſary, that is to ſay, for what we value moſt. It would alſo be no ſmall difficulty to make them capable of reſtraint and application in things merely ſpeculative, or which they ſhould look upon as uſeleſs. As to what relates to their own concerns, they neglect nothing, nor do any thing precipitately: And though they are ſo ſlow in taking their reſolutions, yet they are as warm and active in putting them in execution. This is obſerved eſpecially of the Hurons and the Iroquois. They are not only ready at repartee, but alſo witty.

An Outaonais, named John le Blanc, a bad Chriſtian, and a great drunkard, being aſked by Comte de Frontenac, what he thought brandy was made of, which he loved ſo well, ſaid it was an extract of tongues and hearts; for, (added he) when I have drank it, I fear nothing, and I talk to admiration.

The greateſt part of them have truly a nobleneſs and an equality of ſoul, to which we ſeldom arrive, with all the helps we can obtain from philoſophy and religion. Always maſters of themſelves, in the moſt ſudden misfortunes we cannot perceive the leaſt alteration in their countenances. A priſoner, who knows in what his captivity will end, or, which is perhaps more ſurpriſing, who is ſtill uncertain of his fate, does not loſe on this account a quarter of an hour's ſleep; even the firſt emotions do not find them at a loſs.

A Huron captain was one day inſulted and ſtruck by a young man. Thoſe who were preſent would have puniſhed this audaciouſneſs on the ſpot. *Let him alone* (ſaid the Captain)

tain), *Did not you feel the earth tremble? He is ſufficiently informed of his folly.*

Their conſtancy in ſuffering pain is beyond all expreſſion. A young woman ſhall be a whole day in labour, without uttering one cry: If ſhe ſhewed the leaſt weakneſs, they would eſteem her unworthy to be a mother; becauſe, as they ſay, ſhe could only breed cowards. Nothing is more common, than to ſee perſons of all ages, and of both ſexes, ſuffer for many hours, and ſometimes many days together, the ſharpeſt effects of fire, and all that the moſt induſtrious fury can invent to make it moſt painful, without letting a ſigh eſcape. They are employed for the moſt part, during their ſufferings, in encouraging their tormentors by the moſt inſulting reproaches.

An Outagami, who was burnt by the Illinois with the utmoſt cruelty, perceiving a Frenchman among the ſpectators begged of him that he would help his enemies to torment him; and upon his aſking why he made this requeſt, he replied, *Becauſe I ſhould have the comfort of dying by the hands of a man. My greateſt grief* (adds he) *is, that I never killed a man.----But* (ſaid an Illinois) *you have killed ſuch and ſuch and ſuch a perſon.----As for the Illinois,* (replied the priſoner) *I have killed enough of them, but they are no men.*

What I have obſerved in another place, to leſſen the aſtoniſhment which ſuch an inſenſibility fills one with, does not hinder us from allowing, that ſuch a behaviour ſhews a great deal of Bravery. There muſt always be, to elevate the ſoul above a ſenſe of pain to ſuch a degree, an effort which common ſouls are not capable of. The ſavages exerciſe themſelves in this all their lives and accuſtom their children to it from their tendereſt years. We have ſeen little boys and girls tie themſelves together by one arm, and put a lighted coal between them, to ſee which would ſhake it off firſt. In ſhort, we muſt alſo allow, that, according to Cicero's remark an habit of labour makes us bear pain more eaſily. But there are perhaps no men in the world who fatigue themſelves more than the ſavages, either in their huntings, or in their journies. Laſtly, what proves that this kind of inſenſibility is in theſe barbarians the effect of a true courage, is that it is not found in all of them.

It is not ſurpriſing, that with this greatneſs of ſoul, and theſe elevated ſentiments, the ſavages ſhould be intrepid in danger, and of a courage proof againſt every thing. It is true, that in their wars they expoſe themſelves as little as may be, becauſe they make it their chief glory, never to buy the victory at a dear rate; and becauſe of their nations not being

numerous

numerous, they have made it a maxim not to weaken them: But when they muſt fight, they do it like lions, and the ſight of their blood does but increaſe their ſtrength and courage. They have been in many actions with our brave men, who have ſeen them perform things almoſt incredible.

As to what we call more particularly the qualities of the heart, the ſavages do not value themſelves much on them; or, to ſpeak more properly, they are not virtues in them. Friendſhip, compaſſion, gratitude, attachment, they have ſomething of all this, but it is not in the heart; and in them it is leſs the effect of a good diſpoſition, than of reflection or inſtinct. The care they take of orphans, widows, and the infirm, and the hoſpitality, they exerciſe in ſuch an admirable manner, are to them only the conſequence of their perſuaſion, that all things ought to be in common among men. Fathers and mothers have a fondneſs for their children, which riſes even to weakneſs; but which does not incline them to make them virtuous, and which appears to be purely animal. Children, on their ſide, have no natural gratitude for their parents, and they even treat them ſometimes with indignity, eſpecially their fathers. I have heard ſome examples of this ſort that are horrible, and which cannot be related: But here follows one inſtance that was public.

An Iroquois, who ſerved along time in our troops againſt his own nation, and even as an officer, met his father in an engagement, and was going to kill him. When he diſcovered who he was, he held his hand, and ſaid to him, *You have once given me life, and now I give it to you. Let me meet you no more; for I have paid the debt I owed you.* Nothing can better prove the neceſſity of education, and that nature alone does not ſufficiently inſtruct us in our moſt eſſential duties. And what demonſtrates more evidently the advantages of the Chriſtian religion, is, that it has produced in the hearts of theſe barbarians, in all theſe reſpects, a change which appears wonderful.

But if the ſavages know not how to taſte the ſweets of friendſhip, they have at leaſt diſcovered its uſefulneſs. Every one among them has a friend, nearly of his own age, between whom there is a mutual engagement, which is indiſſoluble. Two men, thus united for their common intereſt, are obligd to do every thing, and run all hazards to aſſiſt and ſuccour each other. Death itſelf, as they believe, ſeparates them only a time: They depend on meeting again in the other world, never to part more, being perſuaded that they ſhall ſtill want each other's aſſiſtance.

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The colour of the ſavages does not prove a third ſpecies, between the white and the black, as ſome people have imagined. They are very ſwarthy, and of a dirty dark red, which appears more in Florida, of which Louiſiana is a part; but this is not their natural complexion. The frequent frictions they uſe gives them this red; and it is ſurpriſing that they are not blacker, being continually expoſed to the ſmoke in winter, to the great heats of the ſun in ſummer, and in all ſeaſons to all the inclemencies of the air.

It is not ſo eaſy to give a reaſon why they have not a hair on their whole body, excepting the hairs of their head, which they have all very black, the eye-laſhes and eye-brows, which ſome alſo pluck off; and it is the ſame caſe with almoſt all the Americans. What makes it ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that their children are born with a thin hair, and pretty long, all over their bodies, but which diſappears after eight days. The old men have alſo ſome hairs on the chin, as we ſee ſome old women have with us. I have known ſome, who attribute this ſingularity to the conſtant cuſtom the Americans have of ſmoking, and which is common to both ſexes. Others think it more natural to ſay, that this proceeds from the quality of their blood, which being more pure, becauſe of the plainneſs of their aliments, produces leſs of thoſe ſuperfluities, which ours, being more groſs, ſupplies ſo plentifully; or, that having fewer ſalts it is leſs fit for theſe ſort of productions. There is no doubt, that it is at leaſt this plainneſs of food which renders the ſavages ſo ſwift of foot. I have ſeen a man, who, came from an iſland not far from Japan, who, before he had eat any bread, aſſured me that he could travel on foot thirty leagues a day, commonly without fatigue; but ſince he had been uſed to bread, he could not travel with the ſame eaſe.

This is certain, that our ſavages think it a very great beauty to have no hair but on the head; if they have any grow on their chin, they pluck it off directly; that the Europeans, the firſt time they ſaw them, appeared frightful to them with their long beards, as was then the faſhion; that they do not think our white colour handſome; and that they found the fleſh of the Engliſh and French, when they eat it, of a bad taſte, becauſe it was fat.

The children of the ſavages, when they leave the cradle, are not confined in any manner; and as ſoon as they can crawl upon their hands and feet, they let them go where they will quite naked, into the water, into the woods, into the dirt, and into the ſnow, which makes their bodies ſtrong,

their

their limbs very ſupple, and hardens them againſt the injuries of the air; but alſo, as I obſerved before, it makes them ſubject to diſtempers of the ſtomach and lungs, which deſtroys them early. In ſummer they run, as ſoon as they are up, to the river, or into the lakes, and continue there a part of the day, playing like fiſh, when it is fine weather, at the ſurface of the water. It is certain, that nothing is better than this exerciſe to make their joints free, and to render them nimble.

They put a bow and arrows into their hands betimes, and to excite them in that emulation, which is the beſt teacher of the arts, there is no need to ſet their breakfaſt on the top of a tree, as they did by the young Lacædemonians. They are all born with that paſſion for glory that has no need of a ſpur; and indeed they ſhoot with a ſurpriſing exactneſs, and with a little practice they acquire the ſame dexterity in the uſe of our fire-arms. They make them alſo wreſtle, and they purſue this exerciſe ſo eagerly, that they would often kill one another if they were not parted. Thoſe who are worſted, are ſo enraged at it, that they do not take the leaſt repoſe till they have revenge.

In general one may ſay, that the fathers and mothers neglect nothing to inſpire their children with certain principles of honour, which they preſerve all their lives, but of which they often make a bad application; and in this their whole education conſiſts. When they give them inſtructions on this head, it is always in an indirect way; the moſt common is to relate to them the brave actions of their anceſtors, or of their countrymen. Theſe young people are fired at theſe ſtories, and are never eaſy till they find an opportunity of imitating the examples they have made them admire. Sometimes, to correct them for their faults, they uſe prayers and tears, but never menaces. They would make no impreſſion on ſpirits, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion that no perſon has a right to uſe compulſion.

A mother, who ſees her daughter behave ill falls a crying: On the daughter's aſking the cauſe, ſhe is ſatisfied with ſaying *You diſgrace me.* It ſeldom happens that this way of reproving is not effectual; nevertheleſs, ſince they have converſed more with the French, ſome of them begin to chaſtiſe their children; but this is ſcarcely amongſt any but the Chriſtians, or thoſe that are ſettled in the colony. Generally the greateſt puniſhment they uſe to correct their children, is to throw a little water in their faces. The children are much affected by it, and by every thing that ſavours of reproof; the cauſe of

which is, that reſentment is their ſtrongeſt paſſion, even at that age.

We have known ſome girls hang themſelves, for having only received a ſlight reprimand from their mothers, or a few drops of water in their faces; and who have given notice of it, by ſaying, *You ſhall loſe your daughter*. The greateſt misfortune is, that it is not to virtue they exhort theſe young people; or, which is the ſame thing, that they do not always give them true notions of virtue. In reality, they recommend nothing to them ſo much as revenge, and it is this of which they ſhew them the moſt frequent examples.

One would expect, that a childhood ſo badly diſciplined, ſhould be followed by a youth of turbulence and corruption; but on one hand the ſavages are naturally calm, and early maſters of themſelves: Reaſon alſo guides them rather more than other men. And, on the other hand, their conſtitutions, eſpecially in the northern countries, does not incline them to debauchery; yet we find ſome cuſtoms among them, in which chaſtity is entirely diſregarded: But it appears that this proceeds more from ſuperſtition, than the depravation of the heart.

The Hurons, when we firſt began to converſe with them, were more laſcivious, and very brutal in their pleaſures. The young perſons of both ſexes abandoned themſelves without ſhame to all manner of diſſoluteneſs: And it was chiefly among them, that it was not eſteemed a crime for a girl to proſtitute herſelf. Their parents were the firſt to engage them in this way, and many did the ſame by their wives for a baſe intereſt. Many never married, but took young women to ſerve them, as they ſaid, for companions; and all the difference they made between theſe concubines and their lawful wives, was, that with the firſt there was no agreement made: For the reſt, their children were on the ſame footing as the others, which produced no inconvenience, in a country where there are no eſtates to inherit.

One does not diſtinguiſh nations here by their dreſs. The men, when it is hot, have often only ſomething of an apron to cover their nakedneſs. In winter they clothe themſelves more or leſs, according to the climate. They wear on their feet a ſort of ſandals, made of roe-buck ſkins ſmoked: Their ſtockings are alſo ſkins, or bits of ſtuffs, which they wrap round their legs. A waiſtcoat, made of ſkins, covers them to the waiſt, and they wear over that a rug or blanket, when they can get it; if not, they make themſelves a robe with a bear's ſkin, or of ſeveral beaver or other like ſkins, or furs, with

with the hair inwards. The women's waiſtcoats reach juſt below their knees; and when it is very cold, or when they travel, they cover their heads with their blanket, or their robe. I have ſeen ſeveral who had little caps, like ſkull caps; others have a ſort of capuchin faſtened to their waiſtcoats; and they have beſides a piece of ſtuff which ſerves them for a petticoat, which covers them from the waiſt down to the middle of the leg.

They are all very deſirous of having ſhirts and ſhifts; but they never put them under their waiſtcoats till they are dirty, and then they wear them till they drop to pieces, for they never take the trouble to waſh them. Their waiſtcoats are generally dreſſed in the ſmoke like their ſandals; that is to ſay, after they have hung a proper time in it, they rub them a little, and then they may be waſhed like linnen; they prepare them alſo by ſoaking them in water, then rubbing them with their hands till they are dry and pliable; but the ſavages think our ſtuffs and blankets are much more convenient.

Many make various figures all over their bodies by pricking themſelves, others only in ſome parts. They don't do this merely for ornament; they find alſo, as it is ſaid, great advantages by this cuſtom. It ſerves greatly to defend them from the cold, renders them leſs ſenſible of the other injuries of the air, and frees them from the proſecution of the gnats. But it is only the countries poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, eſpecially in Virginia, that the cuſtom of pricking themſelves all over the body is very common. In New France the greateſt part are ſatisfied with ſome figures of birds, ſerpents, or other animals, and even of leaves, and ſuch like figures, without order or ſymmetry, but according to every one's fancy, often in the face, and ſometimes even on the eye-lids. Many women are marked in the parts of the face that anſwer to the jaw bones, to prevent the tooth-ach.

This operation is not painful in itſelf. It is performed in this manner: They begin by tracing on the ſkin, drawn very tight, the figure they intend to make; then they prick little holes cloſe together with the fins of a fiſh, or with needles, all over theſe traces, ſo as to draw blood: Then they rub them over with charcoal duſt, and other colours, well ground and powdered. Theſe powders ſink into the ſkin, and the colours are never effaced; but ſoon after the ſkin ſwells, and forms a kind of ſcab, accompanied with inflammation. It commonly excites a fever; and if the weather is too hot, or the operation has been carried too far, there is hazard of life.

The colours with which they paint their faces, and the greaſe they rub themſelves with all over their bodies, produce the ſame advantages, and, as theſe people fancy, give the ſame good appearance, as pricking. The warriors paint themſelves, when they take the field, to intimidate their enemies, perhaps alſo to hide their fear; for we muſt not think they are all exempt from it. The young people do it to conceal an air of youth, which would make them leſs taken for old ſoldiers, or a paleneſs remaining after ſome diſtemper, and which they are apprehenſive might be taken for the effect of want of courage: They do it alſo to make them look handſome; but then the colours are more lively, and more varied. They paint the priſoners that are going to die; but I don't know why: Perhaps it is to be ſacrificed to the GOD of war. Laſtly, they paint the dead, to expoſe them dreſſed in the fineſt robes; and this is, without doubt to hide the paleneſs of death, which diſfigures them.

The colours they uſe on theſe occaſions are the ſame they uſe to dye ſkins, and they make them from certain earths, and the bark of ſome trees. They are not very lively, but they do not very eaſily wear out. The men add to this ornament the down of ſwans or other birds, which they ſtrew upon their hair after it has been greaſed, like powder. They add to this, feathers of all colours, and bunches of the hair of divers animals, all placed in an odd manner. The placing of their hair, ſometimes ſtanding up like briſtles on one ſide, and flatted on the other, or dreſſed in a thouſand different faſhions, pendants in their ears, and ſometimes in their noſtrils, a great ſhell of porcelain hanging about their neck, or on their breaſt, ſome crowns made of the plumage of ſcarce birds, the claws, feet, or heads of birds of prey, little horns of roe-bucks, all theſe things make up their finery. But whatever they have moſt precious is always employed to adorn the captives when theſe wretches make their firſt entry into the village of their conquerors.

It is obſervable that the men take very little pains to adorn any part but their head. Is is juſt the reverſe with the women: They wear ſcarcely any thing on it; they are only fond of their hair, and they would think themſelves diſgraced if it was cut off; therefore, when at the death of a relation they cut off part of it, they pretend by this to ſhew the greateſt grief for their loſs. To preſerve their hair they greaſe it often, and powder it with the duſt of ſpruce bark, and ſometimes with vermillion; then they wrap it up in the ſkin of an eel or a ſerpent, in the faſhion of whiſkers, which hang down

down to their waiſt. As to their faces, they are ſatisfied with tracing ſome lines on them with vermillion, or other colours.

Their noſtrils are never bored, and it is only among ſome nations that they bore their ears; then they wear in them pendants, as do alſo the men, made of beads of porcelain. When they are dreſſed in their greateſt finery, they have robes painted with all ſorts of figures, with little collars of porcelain ſet on them without much order or ſymmetry, with a kind of border tolerably worked with porcupine's hair, which they paint alſo of various colours.

In ſhort, to make a brief portrait of theſe people: With a ſavage appearance, and manners and cuſtoms which are entirely barbarous, there is obſervable amongſt them a ſocial kindneſs, free from almoſt all the imperfections which ſo often diſturb the peace of ſociety among us. They appear to be without paſſion; but they do that in cold blood, and ſometimes through principle, which the moſt violent and unbridled paſſion produces in thoſe who give no ear to reaſon. They ſeem to lead the moſt wretched life in the world; and they were perhaps the only happy people on earth, before the knowledge of the objects, which ſo much work upon and ſeduce us, had excited in them deſires which ignorance kept in ſupineneſs; and which have not as yet made any great ravages among them. We diſcover in them a mixture of the fierceſt and the moſt gentle manners, the imperfections of wild beaſts, and virtues and qualities of the heart and mind, which do the greateſt honour to human nature. One would think at firſt that they have no form of government, that they acknowledge neither laws nor ſubordination; and that living in an entire independence, they ſuffer themſelves to be ſolely guided by chance, and the wildeſt caprice: Nevertheleſs, they enjoy almoſt all the advantages that a well-regulated authority can procure for the beſt governed nations. Born free and independent, they look with horror even on the ſhadow of a deſpotic power; but they ſeldom depart from certain principles and cuſtoms, founded on good ſenſe, which are to them inſtead of laws, and which in ſome meaſure ſupply the place of a lawful authority. They will not bear the leaſt reſtraint; but reaſon alone keeps them in a kind of ſubordination; which, for being voluntary, is not the leſs effectual to obtain the end intended.

A man who ſhould be highly eſteemed by them, would find them docible enough, and would make them do almoſt what he pleaſed; but it is not eaſy to obtain their eſteem to ſuch a degree: They never give it but to merit, and to ſuperior merit;

merit; of which they are as good judges as thoſe amongſt us, who think they have the moſt diſcernment.

They rely much on phyſiognomy, and perhaps there are no men in the world who are better judges of it. The reaſon is, that they have none of that reſpect for any perſon whatſoever, which ſeduces us: And ſtudying only pure nature, they have a perfect knowledge of it. As they are not ſlaves to ambition and intereſt, and that there is ſcarce any thing but theſe two paſſions which has weakened in us that ſenſe of humanity which the author of nature had graved in our hearts, the inequality of conditions is no way neceſſary to them for the ſupport of ſociety.

DESCRIPTION of QUEBEC, Character of its Inhabitants, and the Manner of living in that FRENCH (now ENGLISH) colony; by P. CHARLEVOIX.

☞ Though our Readers will perhaps wonder at our printing an Account of QUEBEC, publiſhed while in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and wrote by a *Frenchman*, the reaſon is, that we could not meet with any other ſo good.

ALL the accounts I have ſeen of Quebec are ſo faulty and deficient, that, I believe, I ſhall not diſpleaſe you by a true repreſentation of this capital of New France. It indeed merits your knowledge, were it only on account of the ſingularity of its ſituation, for perhaps it is the only city in the world, that can boaſt a freſh-water harbour, capable of containing one hundred men of war of the line, at one hundred and twenty leagues diſtance from the ſea. It lies on the moſt navigable river in the univerſe.

The river St. Laurence up to the iſle of Orleans, that is, for about one hundred and twelve leagues from its mouth, is no where leſs than from four to five leagues broad, but above that iſle it narrows ſo, that before Quebec it is not above a mile over. Hence this place got the name of Quebeis, or Quebec, which in the Algonguin tongue ſignifies a ſtraitning, or ſtrait. The Abenaquis, whoſe language is a dialect of the Algonguin, call it Quelibec, which ſignifies a place ſhut up or conceal'd, becauſe, as you enter from the little river of Chaudiere, by which theſe ſavages come to Quebec from Acadia, the point of Levy, which jetts out beyond the iſle of Orleans, entirely hides the South channel of the river St. Laurence,

as

as the iſle of Orleans does that on the North; ſo that from thence the port of Quebec appears like a large baſon, or bay, land-locked on all ſides.

The firſt object, which preſents itſelf on entering the road, is a beautiful caſcade, or ſheet of water, about thirty foot broad, and forty high, which appears juſt at the entry of the little channel of the iſle of Orleans, and is ſeen from that long point on the South of the river, which as I obſerved, hides the iſle of Orleans. This caſcade is called the fall of Montmorency, and the point, the point of Levy, in honour of two ſucceſſive viceroys of New France; viz. the admiral Montmorency, and his nephew the duke of Ventadour. One would naturally conclude that ſo plentiful a fall of water, which never decreaſes, ſhould proceed from a large river. It is however only ſupplied by an inconſiderable brook, which in ſome places is not ankle deep, but it never dries up, and iſſues from a fine lake, about twelve leagues diſtant from the fall.

The city lies a league higher on the ſame ſide, and in the place where the river is narroweſt. But between it and the iſle of Orleans is a baſon, a full league in diameter every way, into which the river St. Charles empties itſelf from the North-Weſt. Quebec ſtands exactly between the river and cape Diamond, which advances out behind it. The anchorage, or road, is oppoſite in twenty-five fathom, good ground; however when the wind blows hard at North Eaſt, ſhips often drive, but without danger.

When Samuel Champlain founded this city in one thouſand ſix hundred and eight, the tide ſometimes flow'd to the foot of the rock; ſince that time the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large ſpace of ground, on which the lower town is built, and which at preſent is ſufficiently elevated above the water mark, to ſecure it from any fears of inundation. The firſt thing you meet at landing is an open place of a middling compaſs, and irregular form, with a row of houſes in front tolerably built, having the rock behind them, ſo that they have no great depth. Theſe form a pretty long ſtreet, which takes up all the breadth of the ground, and extends from right to left to two paſſages which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a ſmall church, and on the right by two rows of houſes running parallel to each other. There is alſo another range of buildings between the church and the port, and along the ſhore, as you go to cape Diamond; there is a pretty long row of houſes on the edge of a bay, called the Bay of Mothors; this

this port may be regarded as a kind of ſuburb to the lower town.

Between this ſuburb and the latter you aſcend to the high town, by a paſſage ſo ſteep, that they have been obliged to cut ſteps in the rock, ſo that it is only practicable on foot, but as you turn from the lower town to the right hand, there is a way more eaſy, with houſes on each ſide. In the place where theſe two paſſages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is another part of the lower town towards the river St. Charles. The firſt building you meet, as you aſcend from the right hand, is the epiſcopal palace; the left is ſurrounded with houſes. As you advance twenty paces further, you find yourſelf between two large ſquares. That on the left is the place of arms, adjoining to the fort, which is the reſidence of the governor general; oppoſite to it is the convent of Recollects, and part of the remainder of the ſquare is ſurrounded with well-built houſes.

In the ſquare on the right ſtands the cathedral church, which is the only pariſh church in the city. The ſeminary lies on one ſide in a corner, formed by the great river and the river St. Charles; oppoſite the cathedral is the Jeſuit's college, and in the ſpace between handſome buildings. From the place of arms run two ſtreets, croſs'd by a third, and which form a large ſquare, or iſle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of Recollects. The ſecond ſquare had two deſcents to the river of St. Charles, one very ſteep, joining to the ſeminary, with but few houſes; the other near the Jeſuits incloſure, which winds very much, has the hoſpital on one ſide about midway, and is bordered with ſmall houſes. This goes to the palace the reſidence of the intendant of the province. On the other ſide the Jeſuit's College near their church is a pretty long ſtreet, with a convent of Urſuline nuns. As to the reſt, the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble and partly ſlate; it has greatly increaſed within twenty years paſt.

Such is the topography of Quebec, which takes up a conſiderable extent. The houſes are large, and all of ſtone, yet there are reckoned but about ſeven thouſand ſouls. To give a fuller idea of this city, I ſhall now ſpeak of its principal edifices, and conclude with its fortifications.

The church in the lower town was built in conſequence of a vow made during the ſiege of Quebec, in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety. It is conſecrated by the name of our lady of victory, and ſerves as a chapel of eaſe to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief

ornament

ornament being its neatneſs and ſimplicity. Some ſiſters of the congregation are ſettled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a ſchool.

The Biſhop's palace is a long quadrangle, and a fine ſtructure.

The cathedral would make but a mean figure in one of our ſmalleſt French towns; judge then if it merits to be the only epiſcopal ſee of the French empire in America, an empire of greater extent than that of the ancient Romans. Its architecture, the choir, the grand altar, and chapels have all the air of a country church. The moſt tolerable part is a very high tower, ſolidly built, and which at a diſtance makes no ill appearance. The ſeminary, which joins this church, is a large ſquare, and has all the conveniencies proper to this climate. From the garden you ſee the road, and the river St. Charles, as far as the ſight can reach.

The fort is a handſome building with two wings. You enter by a ſpacious and regular court, but there is no garden, becauſe it is built on the edge of a rock. This defect is ſupplied in ſome meaſure by a fine gallery, with a balcony, or balluſtrade, which ſurrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a ſpeaking trumpet may be heard, and you ſee all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort to the left, you croſs a pretty large eſplanade, and by an eaſy deſcent you reach the ſummit of Cape Diamond, which forms a natural platform. Beſides the beauty of the proſpect hence, you breathe the pureſt air, and may ſee numbers of porpoiſes, white as ſnow, playing on the ſurface of the waters. On this Cape alſo are found a kind of diamonds, more beautiful than thoſe of Alencan; I have ſeen ſome as well cut by nature, as if they had been done by the ableſt artiſt. Formerly they were abundant here, and hence this Cape took its name; but at preſent they are rarely found. The deſcent on the ſide of the country is yet more eaſy than that from the eſplanade.

The Fathers Recollect have a large and fine church, ſuch as might even do them honour at Verſailles. It is neatly wainſcotted, and adorned with a large gallery, a little clumſey, but the work around well wrought. This part is the work of a lay brother; nothing is wanting, but it would be proper to remove ſome pictures coarſely daubed, the rather as F. Luke has painted others, which need not ſuch foils. The convent is anſwerable to the church, large, ſtrongly built, and commodious, with a ſpacious garden, kept in good order.

The convent of the Urſulines has ſuffered twice by fire, as

well as the ſeminary. Their revenue is beſides ſo ſmall, and the portions they receive with the young Canadian ladies ſo inconſiderable, that the firſt time their monaſtery was burnt, the government were going to ſend them back to France. They have however found means to recover themſelves each time. They are cleanly and commodiouſly lodged; this is the effect of the good reputation they have in the colony, as well as owing to their frugality, temperance, and induſtry. They gild, they embroider, and in general are all employ'd; what they do is generally in a good taſte.

The Jeſuits college is a noble building. It is certain, when Quebec was only a confus'd heap of French barracks, and hutts of ſavages, this edifice, the only one of ſtone, except the fort, made ſome figure. Its ſituation is no way advantageous, being deprived of the view of the road, which it formerly enjoyed, by the cathedral and ſeminary, ſo that it only commands the adjoining ſquare. The court is ſmall and dirty, and looks like that of a farm-houſe. The garden is large, and well kept, and is terminated by a ſmall wood, the remains of that antient foreſt, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handſome chapel. It is covered with ſlate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches of Canada, which are only roofed with planks; the inſide of it is highly ornamented. The gallery is light, bold, and has a baluſtrade of iron, painted, gilt, and delicately wrought. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquiſite. The three altars are well placed, and there are ſome good pictures. It has no roof, but a flat cieling, well wrought. The floor is of wood, and not ſtone, which makes this church warm, while others are inſupportably cold. I ſhall not mention the four pillars of a cylindrical form, of porphyry, jett black, without ſpeck or veins, which La Hontan has placed over the great altar. No doubt they would make a better figure than the preſent ones, which are hollow, and coarſely marbled. This writer had been pardonable, if he had diſguiſed the truth only to beautify the church *.

The Hotel Dieu, or hoſpital, of Quebec has two great halls, appropriated to the different ſexes. The beds are clean, the ſick carefully attended, and every thing commodious and neat. The church lies behind the womens apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the great altar, whoſe painting is fine. This houſe is ſerved by the nuns hoſpitalers of

* *A good obſervation in the Jeſuit, as if a lye in honour of the church was more excuſable than on any other occaſion.*

of St. Auguſtine of the congregation of the Mercy of JESUS, who firſt came here from Dieppe. Their apartments are convenient, but according to appearances their funds are too ſmall to make any progreſs. As their houſe is ſituated on the ſlope of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river St. Charles, they have a tolerably good proſpect.

The houſe of the intendant is call'd the palace, becauſe the ſupreme council aſſembles here. It is a large building, whoſe two extremities ſink ſome feet, and to which you aſcend by a double flight of ſteps. The front to the garden, which has a proſpect to the river St. Charles, is much more agreeable than you enter at. The king's magazines form the right ſide of the court, and the priſon lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which ſtands the high town, and which on this ſide only preſents the eye with a ſteep and diſagreeable rock.

About a quarter of a league in the country ſtands the general hoſpital: This is the moſt beautiful building in Canada, and would be no diſgrace to the fineſt town in France. The Recollects formerly poſſeſſed this ſpot of ground. M. de St. Valier, biſhop of Quebec, removed them into the city, bought their right and laid out one hundred thouſand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marſhy ſituation; but the river St. Charles in this place, making a turn, its waters do not flow eaſily, and the evil is without remedy.

The prelate-founder has his apartment in the houſe, where he uſually reſides; his palace in the city, which he alſo built, he lets out for the benefit of the poor. He condeſcends even to officiate as chaplain to the hoſpital and the nuns, and performs the duties of that place, with a zeal and aſſiduity that would be admirable even in an ordinary prieſt. Tradeſmen, or others, whoſe great age deprives them of the means of getting their ſubſiſtence, are received on this foundation as far as the number of beds will allow, and are ſerved by thirty nuns. It is a colony of the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, but to diſtinguiſh them, the biſhop has made ſome peculiar regulations, and thoſe admitted here wear a ſilver croſs on their breaſt. The nuns for the moſt part are of good families, and as they are often poor, the biſhop has given portions to ſeveral.

I have already ſaid the number of people does not exceed ſeven thouſand: But amongſt theſe you find a ſelect Beau Monde, whoſe converſation is deſirable; a governor general with his houſhold, nobility, officers; an intendant with a ſu-

preme council, and inferior magiſtrates, a commiſſary of marines, a grand provoſt, a grand hunter, a grand maſter of waters and foreſts, whoſe juriſdiction is the longeſt in the world, rich merchants, and ſuch as appear to live at eaſe, a biſhop and numerous ſeminary; two colleges of Recollects and Jeſuits, three Nunneries, Polite Aſſemblies, both at the Lady Governeſs's and Lady Intendant's; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible but a man muſt paſs his time agreeably in this city.

Indeed every body here contributes to this end, by parties at cards, or of pleaſure, the winter in ſleds, or in ſkaits, the ſummer in chaiſes, or canoes. Hunting is much uſed, ſeveral gentlemen having no other reſource. As to news indeed there is little, becauſe the country affords none, and the packets from Europe come all at a time, but then they furniſh matter of diſcourſe for ſome months: The ſciences and arts have their turn, and embelliſh converſation.

DESCRIPTION of the Iſland of CAPE BRETON, and the adjacent Iſles, by P. CHARLEVOIX.

THE iſle of Cape Breton (by the French called Iſle Royale) is ſituated between the 45 and 47 degrees of N. lat. and with Newfoundland (from which it is but 15 or 16 leagues diſtant) forms the S. entry of the bay or gulph of St. Laurence. The ſtrait which ſeparates it from Acadia (or New Scotland) is in length about 5 French leagues, and one in breadth, and is called the paſſage of Canſo. The length of this iſle from N. E. to S. W. is ſcarcely fifty leagues, and its greateſt breadth from E. W. does not exceed thirty-three. Its ſhape is very irregular, being ſo deeply indented with rivers and lakes, that the north and ſouth parts are only joined by an iſthmus of about eighteen hundred feet broad, which ſeparates the bottom of the bay of Toulouſe from ſeveral lakes called Labrador. Theſe lakes diſcharge themſelves into the eaſtern ſea, by two channels of unequal breadth, formed by the iſle of Verderonne, or de la Boularderie, which is ſeven or eight leagues long.

The climate of this iſle is not very different from that of Quebec, and, though the fogs are more frequent here, the air is not reckoned unhealthy. The ſoil is not alike good, though it produces trees of all kinds. Here are oaks of a prodigious ſize, pine-trees fit for maſts, and, in general, all ſorts of timber. The moſt common kinds, next the oak, are the cedar, the aſh, the maple, the plane, and the aſp. Fruit trees,

trees, eſpecially the apple; pulſe and roots, wheat, and the other grains neceſſary to life, are leſs abundant here, as well as hemp and flax, though as to quality, they thrive as well as in Canada. It has been obſerved that the mountains here may be cultivated even to the top; that the beſt lands are ſuch as incline to the ſouth, being defended from the N. and N. W. winds by the mountains which lie on the ſide of the river of St. Laurence.

Domeſtic animals, ſuch as horſes, black cattle, ſheep, ſwine, and poultry thrive well. Hunting and fiſhing yield the inhabitants a plentiful ſubſiſtence, for a great part of the year. Here are ſeveral good mines of excellent coal, which, as they lie on the mountainous parts of the iſle, have no need of digging for them, or of making drains to carry off the water; there is alſo lime-ſtone. No place in the world is eſteemed to yield ſuch plenty of cod, or to have greater conveniencies for drying it. Formerly the iſle was well ſtock'd with game, which is now ſcarce, eſpecially the elk: their partridges are of the ſize of a pheaſant, and reſembling them in their plumage. The fiſhery for ſeals, porpoiſes, and ſea-cows is eaſy, and very profitable from its plenty.

All the ports of this iſle lie from the E. inclining to the S. for 55 leagues, beginning from Port Dauphin to Port Touloufe, which laſt lies near the mouth of the paſſage, or ſtreight of Canſo. All the reſt of the coaſt ſcarce affords anchorage, but for ſmall barks in the little bays, or between the iſles. The northern coaſt is very ſteep and inacceſſible, as is alſo the weſtern ſide, till you meet the ſtraits of Canſo, which, when you have paſſed, you meet Port Touloufe, formerly called Port St. Peter. This harbour lies between a kind of gulph, called Little St. Peter, and the iſles of St. Peter, oppoſite to the Iſles de Madame, or de Maurepas. From thence proceeding N. E. you meet the bay de Gabaron, whoſe entrance, which is twenty leagues from the iſles of St. Peter, is a league full of iſlands and rocks. Ships may ſail cloſe to all theſe iſlands, ſome of which lie off a league and an half from the continent. This bay is two leagues deep, and has good anchorage throughout.

The port of Louiſbourg, or Engliſh harbour, is but a league diſtant, and one of the beſt in all America. It is about four leagues in circumference, and has, in every part of it, ſix or ſeven fathom water. The anchorage is good, and ſhips may run a-ſhore on the ſands without danger. The entrance is not above two hundred toiſes broad between two ſmall iſles, and is known twelve leagues off at ſea by the cape of Lorembec,

bec, which lies a little to the N. E. Two leagues further is the Port de Baleine, or Port Nove, of difficult acceſs, on account of ſome rocks, which are covered when the ſea runs high. It will not admit ſhips of above three hundred tons, but thoſe under that burthen may lie ſafe here. From hence it is but two leagues to the bay of Panadou, or Menadou, the mouth of which is about a league broad, and the length of it two. Almoſt oppoſite lies the iſle of Scatari, formerly Little Cape Breton, which is near two leagues long, and is only ſeparated from the bay of Miray by a very narrow peninſula. The entry of this bay is about two leagues broad, and it is eight deep. It grows narrower as you ſail up, and ſeveral rivulets, or rather ſmall rivers, diſcharge themſelves into it. It is navigable ſix leagues for large veſſels, which may find good anchorage, and lie ſafe from all winds. Beſides the iſle of Scatari, there are ſeveral ſmaller iſles and rocks, always dry, and which may be ſeen at a good diſtance: the largeſt of theſe rocks is called Perillon. The bay of Morienne, which lies a little higher, is ſeparated from the bay of Mira by Cape Brule, and a little higher is the iſle Platte, or the iſle de Pierre a Fuſil (Flint Iſle.) Between theſe iſlands and rocks there is good ſhelter, and ſufficient depth of water.

Three leagues farther to the N. E. lies Indiana, a good harbour, but only capable of ſmall veſſels. From hence it is two leagues to Spaniſh bay, which is a fine port: Its entry is not above one hundred feet over, but it widens as you go in, and, at a league's end, divides itſelf into two branches, each of which is navigable for three leagues. Both theſe ports are good, and might be improved at a ſmall expence. From Spaniſh Bay to the leſſer entry of Labrador is two leagues, and the iſland which forms the greater and leſſer entry is as long. The Labrador is a gulph about twenty leagues in length, and three or four over in the broadeſt part: From the grand entry of the Labrador to Port Dauphin, or St. Ann, is a league and half: There is ſafe anchorage amongſt the iſles of Sibou. A narrow ſlip of land cloſes this port, ſo as only to admit of one veſſel at a time. The harbour is two leagues in circumference, and ſo land-lock'd by the high-lands and mountains which ſurround it, that you ſcarce feel the wind; beſides, ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore. As all theſe ports and bays lie ſo cloſe to each other, it would be eaſy to make roads of communication by land, from one to the other, which would be, in winter, of great benefit to the inhabitants, as it would ſave them the trouble of going round by ſea.

P. Charlevoix here gives the ſubſtance of a memorial preſented

ſented to ths court of France in 1706, in which, among other advantages, it is obſerved that this iſland is naturally ſeated for a ſtaple of trade between Old and New France.

That it is able, of its own growth, to ſupply Old France with fiſh, train-oil, pit-coal, lime, and timber for building; and to furniſh New France with the commodities of Old France at a cheap rate: And the navigation from Quebec to Cape Breton will make very good ſailors of ſuch as are now uſeleſs, and even a burthen to the country.

That another conſiderable benefit to Canada, from a good ſettlement in this iſland, would be, that boats and ſmall craft might be ſent from thence to fiſh for cod-fiſh, and others affording oil, at the mouth of the river St. Laurence. Theſe veſſels might be ſure of diſpoſing of their cargoes in Cape Breton, and there ſtock themſelves with French goods. Or veſſels might be ſent to France from Quebec loaded with the commodities of the country; there they might load with ſalt for fiſhing in the gulph, and afterwards return to Cape Breton with cargoes of fiſh, and there diſpoſe of it, and with the produce of theſe two voyages purchaſe the merchandiſes of France to traffic with in Canada. It is proper here to obſerve, continues the memorial, that what hindered the Canadians from fiſhing in the gulph, and at the mouth of the river St. Laurence, was their being obliged to carry their fiſh to Quebec, where they would not yield enough to pay the freight and ſeamen's wages, on account of the length of the voyage; and if they were ſo lucky as to make any profit, which was very ſeldom, it was not conſiderable enough to engage the colony to continue the trade.

But the two colonies (at Cape Breton and Quebec) aſſiſting each other, and their merchants growing rich by traffic, they might enter into aſſociations and companies for undertakings beneficial to themſelves, and conſequently to the French nation, were it only to open the iron mines, which are in ſuch plenty in the countries about the three rivers; for then the mines in Old France, and its woods might have reſt, or at leaſt we ſhould not be obliged to Sweden and Biſcay for iron.

Beſides, ſhips which go from France to Canada always run great hazards at their return, unleſs they make this voyage in the ſpring. But the ſmall veſſels of Quebec run no riſk in going to Cape Breton, becauſe they chuſe their own time, and have experienced pilots. They have two voyages in a year, and ſo ſave the ſhips of France the labour of going up the river of St. Laurence, and ſhorten their voyage by one half.

It is not only by promoting the conſumption of commodities in

in New France, that ſuch a ſettlement would be beneficial to the kingdom, but as it lies convenient for diſpoſing of its wines, brandy, linens, ribbands, taffetas, &c. to the Engliſh colonies; which commerce will be a very material article, becauſe the Engliſh would furniſh themſelves at Cape Breton, and at Canada, with all theſe merchandiſes, not only for the continent, where their colonies are very populous, but alſo for their iſlands, and thoſe of the Dutch, even tho' the importation of French commodities were not openly permitted.

In ſhort, nothing is more likely than ſuch a ſettlement to engage the merchants of France in the cod-fiſhery, becauſe the iſle of Cape Breton, furniſhing Canada with merchandiſe, the veſſels employ'd in that fiſhery will take in their lading half ſalt, and half in wares, by which means they will make double profit; whereas at preſent they are only laden with ſalt. To this we may add that the increaſe of our fiſhery will enable France to furniſh Spain and the Levant with fiſh, and ſo bring a great deal of money into the kingdom.

The whale-fiſhery, which is alſo very plentiful in the gulph, towards the coaſts of Labrador, and in the river of St. Laurence as far as Tadouſſac, might alſo be reckoned one of the moſt ſolid advantages of ſuch an eſtabliſhment. The ſhips which go on this expedition might load in France with merchandiſe, which they might ſell at Cape Breton, or leave in the hands of their American factors. They might provide themſelves with caſks on the ſpot, and then ſet out for the fiſhery, which is the more commodious in thoſe parts, in that it is made in the ſummer, and not in the winter, as in the Northern parts of Europe, where the fiſhing-boats are ſurrounded with ice, ſo that the whales are often loſt after they are ſtruck with the harpoon. The ſhips thus employ'd would gain not only by the merchandiſe, which they carry'd to Cape Breton, but alſo by the fiſh, and this double profit would be made in leſs time, and with leſs hazard, than what is made in the North with only whale-oil, and the money expended in Holland for that commodity would be ſaved to the nation.

It has been already obſerv'd that the iſle of Cape Breton has plenty of trees for maſts, and timber for building of its own growth, and beſides lies convenient for importing them from Canada; this muſt augment the mutual commerce of theſe two colonies, and furniſh an eaſy way for building of ſhips here. All things neceſſary may eaſily be imported from Canada; and would coſt much leſs than in France, and might enable us to ſell ſhips to foreigners, of whom we now purchaſe them.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, there is no ſafer or more convenient retreat for ſhips bound from all parts of America, whether chaſed by enemies, ſurpriz'd by bad weather, or in want of water, wood, or proviſions. And in time of war, this port might ſend out cruiſers to ruin the trade of New England, and ſeize the whole Cod-Fiſhery.------

On the ceſſion made of Placentia and Acadia to the crown of England by the peace of Utrecht in 1712, the French having no place where they could either ſafely cure their cod, or purſue the fiſhery, but Cape Breton Iſle, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſettlement, and fortifying themſelves in this place.

The firſt thing they did was to change the name, calling it Iſle Royale. The next ſtep was to chuſe the place for ſettling the colony, and it was long in ſuſpenſe whether they ſhould fix on Engliſh Harbour (now Louiſbourg) or Port St. Anne (now Port Dauphin.)

The former (Louiſbourg, or Engliſh Harbour) has been already deſcribed, as one of the fineſt ports in America. The Cod-Fiſhery is excellent, and continues from April to the end of December; but the ſoil is barren all round, and it would coſt immenſe ſums to fortify it, as there were no materials to be had for that purpoſe in the neighbourhood. Beſides, there was not anchorage room enough in the harbour for above forty fiſhing veſſels at a time.

On the contrary, the port Dauphin, or St. Anne, (as before deſcribed) had both the advantages of a ſurer road, a more difficult entry, and a ſafer port within: Add to this, that all the materials for fortifying the place, and building a town, were to be had on the ſpot. The adjacent country was fertile, and full of wood, and the fiſhery equally good as at Louiſbourg, only with this difference, that the weſterly winds made it impracticable to fiſh in boats here, though it was as eaſy to do it in ſhoops, as at Boſton in New England.

The ſole inconvenience, which turned the ſcale between theſe two ports, was the difficulty of entering the latter. Engliſh Harbour was therefore ſettled by the name of Louiſbourg, and nothing was left undone to make this new eſtabliſhment at once commodious and impregnable.

A DESCRIPTION of SAINT VINCENT, a neutral iſland.

THIS iſland is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles North-weſt of Barbados. The original inhabitants of it were Ca-

ribbeans, by a ſtrange intermixture of ſhipwrecked, or run-away negroes, the negroe complexion and ſpecies has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of St. Vincent, before the ceſſion of it to the crown of Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being ſo ferocious as many of the other ſavages, becauſe they often traded with the European nations, and gave them refreſhments for hatchets, ſciſſars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is obſervable, that St. Vincent was more populous than the other Caribbee-Iſlands of the ſame dimenſions, becauſe it was the general rendezvous of thoſe ſavages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they ſeldom were at peace. By all accounts, the Caribbeans conſulted their own intereſts very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnerſhip of their ſoil; for the latter tyrannized over them to ſuch a degree, that they made ſeveral attempts to introduce the French and Engliſh into the iſland, that they might diſpoſſeſs the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that thoſe attempts ſucceeded; for many of the negroes having ſome knowledge of the European diſcipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to diſpoſſeſs them, and are ſaid to have lived on the iſland plentifully and comfortably.

In 1719, the French from Martinico endeavoured to diſlodge them, but loſt many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that St. Vincent is one of the beſt of all the Antilles iſlands. The ſoil is excellent, as likewiſe the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the Europeans ſucceeded in making a ſettlement upon it, it muſt have ſoon become a kind of ſtorehouſe for Martinico and the other Caribbee iſlands, as every thing neceſſary for life is here eaſily raiſed. The negroes aſſimilate themſelves as much as poſſible to the Caribbeans in their dreſs and manner of living; but they are eaſily diſtinguiſhable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have ſeperate chiefs, but no one claims to be ſovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of Montague's attempt to people this iſland, and that of St. Lucia took place, the French, from Martinico and their other iſlands repaired hither, and prepoſſeſſed the inhabitants, both negroes and Indians, againſt the Engliſh, who, they ſaid, intended to make them ſlaves. All the endeavours of mr. Egerton, who was ſent thither by captain Vring, to perſuade the natives to ſubmit

to

to the duke of Montague's proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepoſſeſſion; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a King of England, or any other potentate, had to diſpoſe of their iſland. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more ſecure.

M. Egerton thus failing in his ſolicitations, Mr. Braithwite, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under Mr. Vring, was ſent from Antigua, to which iſland the ſettlement deſigned for St. Lucia had retired, in the Griffin ſloop, attended by the Winchelſea man of war, to make a freſh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more neceſſary, on account of the orders lately arrived from England, which were peremptory, that a ſettlement ſhould be made on St. Vincent. Mr. Braithwaite, coming to an anchor off the iſland, was viſited by a perſon who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he ſoon had reaſon to believe, that this chief was an impoſtor, and had no other view than to get from him ſome preſents. The currents ſoon drove Mr. Braithwaite's ſhip off from this ſtation, and he anchored in a ſpacious bay to the leeward of the iſland, which then preſented a place very proper for making a ſettlement. Here he landed, but found the ſhore covered with Indians, headed by a Frenchman, and all of them furniſhed with fire-arms. They immediately ſeized Braithwaite, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was ſurrounded by a guard of about 100 Indians, ſome with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A Frenchman ſerved as interpreter between the chief and Braithwaite, who found himſelf under a neceſſity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the iſland only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hoſtages in caſe the chief could be perſuaded to truſt himſelf on board the Engliſh ſhip. This offer was rejected, and Braithwaite was given to underſtand, that his ſafeſt courſe would be to get under ſail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a ſettlement upon the iſland; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the ſhore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he ſent on ſhore a preſent of ſome refreſhments to the Indian chief. The ſcene was now changed. The French interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the ſavage general, was withdrawn, and the preſent was not only received with great thankfulneſs, but the meſſenger was given to underſtand, that the Engliſh were welcome to whatever

the iſland afforded. A preſent of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the Indians, who ſpoke very good French, going on board Mr. Braithwaite's ſhip, offered to remain there as hoſtages, if he choſe again to go on ſhore. Braithwaite ſent them on board the man of war, and went on ſhore with captain Watſon; but he found that the negroes and the Caribbeans were united, and that the negro chief had with him five hundred blacks, moſt of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to ſuffer Braithwaite to wood and water under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the Indian and negroe chiefs to go on board the Winchelſea, where they were very handſomely entertained, and had preſents made them by captain Orme. Being plied with liquor, Braithwaite diſcovered that they were invincibly reſolved againſt the Engliſh making any ſettlement upon their iſland; and he was informed, that had he owned any ſuch deſign when on ſhore, they could not have protected him. He underſtood, at the ſame time, that the Dutch had made a like attempt, but without ſucceſs; that the French had furniſhed the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promiſed to ſupport them with all the force of Martinico, againſt the Engliſh. Braithwaite, notwithſtanding all this oppoſition, learned, that the Caribbeans and the negroes were equally averſe to the French as to the Engliſh government, and that they were determined to oppoſe all Europeans ſettling among them.

Thus ended this fruitleſs, expenſive expedition, which coſt the duke of Montague an immenſe ſum of money. It is evident, that the French impoſed upon the Engliſh throughout the whole tranſaction; nor is it eaſy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon Braithwaite's report, and the captains of the Engliſh men of war declining to act offenſively in ſupport of the ſettlement, the Engliſh government at Antigua gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous, and at the ſame ineffectual, to make any farther attempt for a ſettlement upon St. Vincent. The iſland, therefore, was conſidered as neutral between Great-Britain and France, till the concluſion of the treaty of peace, ſigned the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris, when it was ceded by the ninth article to the crown of Great-Britain.

A DESCRIPTION of the GRENADILLAS, or GRENADINE ISLANDS.

THE chief of theſe is Grenada, which lies in weſt longitude, 61. 40. and north lat. 12. It is the laſt of the Windward Caribbees, and lies thirty leagues north of New Andaluſia

Andaluſia on the continent. According to father Tertre, it is twenty-four leagues in compaſs, but Labat makes it no more than twenty-two, and it is ſaid to be about thirty miles in length, and in ſome places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fiſh, which, probably, occaſioned the Caribbeans to reſort in greater numbers to this than to any other of the Antilles iſlands. In 1638, the famous Monſieur Poincy, attempted to make a ſettlement here, but he was driven off by the Caribbeans. Monſieur Parquet, the governor of Martinico, in June 1650, carried over 200 men from Martinico, furniſhed with preſents to reconcile the ſavages to them, but with arms to ſubdue them if they ſhould prove intractable. It is not eaſy to account for the right this Frenchman had to make ſuch a ſettlement upon an iſland already inhabited by natives, which had often diſclaimed all ſubjection to the French. The number of the latter are ſaid to have frightened the ſavages into ſubmiſſion; and, if we are to believe the French accounts, their chief not only welcomed the new ſettlers, but, in conſideration of ſome knives, ſciſſars, hatchets, toys, and the like, preſented to them, yielded to Parquet the property of their iſland, only reſerving their own habitations to themſelves. The French ſet about raiſing tobacco, and that which grew on his iſland was remarkably fine. They ſcarcely had got in one crop when they began to diſcover that all the ſeeming complaiſance of the natives was diſſembled; for they took every opportunity of ſurpriſing and cutting off their new gueſts. This produced a war, and the French ſettlers having received a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, forced the ſavages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after exhauſting all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Soon after, they were joined by other ſavages from the neighbouring iſlands, and attacked the French a-new, but were again defeated; yet they were ſo deſperate, that forty of them who had eſcaped from the ſword, threw themſelves over a precipice into the ſea. The French then vented their rage upon their habitations, which they deſtroyed, together with all their proviſions; but freſh ſupplies of Caribbeans ariving, they renewed the war with great briſkneſs, and killed numbers of their enemies; the latter, upon this, came to a reſolution of exterminating the whole race upon the iſland. An hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the ſavages unawares, and moſt inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, beſides burning their boats and canoes, to cut off

off all communication of the few ſurvivors, with the continent, or the neighbouring iſlands. Notwithſtanding all thoſe barbarous precautions, the Caribbeans ſtill proved the irreconcileable enemies of the French; and their frequent inſurrections at laſt obliged Parquet to ſell all his property in the iſland to the count de Cerillac in 1657, for 30,000 crowns. The count ſent thither a perſon of brutal manners to govern it; upon which the better ſort of the French abandoned it, and he was ſhot to death by thoſe who remained. In 1664, no more than 150 planters, out of 500 who were ſettled on the iſland when the count bought it, lived upon it, and he ſold it to the French Weſt-India company for 100,000 livres; but in 1674, they were obliged to ſurrender all their rights in it to the King. After this, it continued to be inhabited chiefly by French, but never was fully ſettled; and, after the conqueſt of Martinico by the Engliſh, it was eaſily reduced; the full property of it, and the Grenadines, being a cluſter of ſmall neighbouring iſlands, was confirmed to the crown of Great-Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

GRENADA, and the Grenadines produced very fine timber, but the cocoa-tree is obſerved not to thrive ſo well there as in the other iſlands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, ſerve as thatch for houſes. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the iſland, ſupplies it with freſh-water ſtreams, which render its ſoil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the iſland, ſome of which might be fortified to great advantage; ſo that it is very convenient for ſhipping, not being ſubject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its ſoil is fit for producing, beſides tobacco, ſugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this iſland carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flouriſhing a colony as any in the Weſt-Indies, of its dimenſions. The chief port is called Lewis, and ſtands on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in the middle of a large bay, with a ſandy bottom. It is pretended that a thouſand barks from three hundred to four hundred tons, may ride ſecure from ſtorms, and that one hundred ſhips of one thouſand ton each may be moored in the harbour. A large round baſon, which is parted from it by a bank of ſand, if cut through, would contain a conſiderable number of ſhips, but at preſent large ſhips, on account of this ſand-bank, are obliged to paſs within eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the oppoſite mountain lying at about half a mile diſtant. One of thoſe mountains, when the Engliſh reduced the iſland,

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was ſtrongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but ſurrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of Martinico and Guadaloupe, and loſt all ſpirit. Grenada, however, at the time of its ſurrender, contained the face of a ſettlement, having a mean church, and ſome places of rendezvous, where the French aſſembled to defend themſelves from the attacks of the ſavages.

A DESCRIPTION of TABAGO.

TABAGO lies near forty leagues ſouth by weſt from Barbadoes, about thirty-five leagues ſouth-eaſt from St. Vincent, forty leagues eaſt from Granada, twelve leagues north-eaſt from Trinidada, and between thirty and forty leagues north-eaſt from the Spaniſh Main. It is thirty-two miles in length, from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt, and about nine broad from eaſt to weſt; the whole being above ſeventy miles in circumference; ſo that it is rather larger than Barbadoes, or indeed any of our Leeward Iſlands; and near the north-eaſt extremity there lies a ſmall iſland, called Little Tabago, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. Tabago was firſt diſcovered by Columbus, in 1498, but we know of no ſettlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the iſland. When an adventurous ſpirit for diſcoveries of every kind prevailed in England under queeen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley, the lawful ſon of the famous earl of Leiceſter, in an expedition he made againſt Trinidada, gave the Engliſh government the firſt hint of peopling Tabago, which was then uninhabited by any European nation: But this propoſal met with but ſmall encouragement. William, earl of Pembroke, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this iſland, with that of Berbuda and St. Bernard. Being a great patron of new ſettlements, and conſiderably engaged in the diſcoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in America, there is little reaſon to doubt that he intended to people Tabago; but his death happening in leſs than two years after, the deſign came to nothing. About the year 1632, ſome Zealanders having fitted out a ſmall ſquadron for trading to thoſe iſlands, took ſo great a liking to his iſland, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to ſettle it, and gave it the name of New Walcheren, one of the moſt conſiderable iſlands in Zealand; and from the

the information of this company, that excellent Dutch geographer de Laet, has been enabled to give us a better account of Tabago than of any of the other Caribbee Iſlands. The new colony in a ſhort time increaſed to about two hundred, who, finding themſelves peſtered by the viſits of the Caribbean Indians, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preſervation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to the Spaniards, who readily granted it; for they ſent a force upon the iſland, which demoliſhed the riſing fort, and exterminated the new colony.

It was probably from the reſort of ſome Dutch merchants to Courland, that firſt gave the hint to James duke of Courland for ſettling Tabago. He was a prince of a ſtirring, active diſpoſition, and finding that there was room for ſuch a ſettlement, he ſent over a colony of his own ſubjects, who ſettled upon what has been ſince called Great Courland-Bay, and erected a ſmall regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of James, in honour of their own ſovereign, who was named after James I. of Great-Britain. Here they lived ſo inoffenſively, that they remained unmoleſted, either by the Caribbeans or the Spaniards; and they found its ſoil ſo kindly, that the colony in a ſhort time had an excellent appearance. They were ſupplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utenſils, and they flouriſhed to ſuch a degree, as to awaken the jealouſy of the Dutch, who revived their claim upon the iſland. In 1654, two wealthy Dutch merchants, Meſſ. Adrian, and Cornelius Lampſius, of Fluſhing, fitted out ſome ſhips, who landed a conſiderable number of their countrymen upon Tabago; but found the Courlanders in no diſpoſition to yield them poſſeſſion of the iſland, which they ſaid, they held under the authority of their own ſovereign. The Courlanders were too powerful to be diſpoſſeſſed; the Dutch took poſſeſſion of a different part of the iſland, which is now called Rockley-Bay, acknowledging themſelves to be under the protection of the duke of Courland, who ſuffered a melancholy reverſe of fortune in Europe.

This duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between Poland and Sweden; but having given umbrage to Charles Guſtavus of Sweden, he was taken priſoner in 1658, and carried firſt to Riga, and next to Ivanagorod. The news of the duke's diſaſter, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and it's marine, reaching Tabago, the Dutch immediately beſieged Fort James, which by the mutiny of the garriſon was given up to them, and thereby they claimed poſ-

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ſeſſion of the whole iſland; but ſtill promiſing to reſtore Fort James as ſoon as the duke ſhould recover his liberty. By this time, the court of France, by one of thoſe arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inſerted Tabago among the other iſlands that were granted to their Weſt-India company; and the Dutch planters of Tabago thought that to be a good opportunity for eſtabliſhing themſelves under ſo powerful a protection. Lampſius, accordingly, in Auguſt 1662, had ſo much intereſt at the court of France, as to procure letters patent from Lewis XIV. creating him baron of Tabago, and they were regiſtred the year following in the parliament of Paris. Lampſius, ſoon after, prevailed upon the Dutch Weſt-India company to reſign to him all their right in Tabago, and becoming thus the proprietor of the iſland, under the crown of France, he ſent over Mr. Hubert de Beveren as his governor of the ſame. The new governor projectd many public works and buildings to put the iſland upon a reſpectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built Lampſinburgh, and he gave the ſame name to the harbour, as alſo to a regular fortreſs which he erected at the ſame time. He likewiſe built Fort Beveren, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call New-Fluſhing; beſides raiſing ſeveral other forts for the ſecurity of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great ſpirit. They laid out fine cocao-walks, which ſerved equally the purpoſes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and ſugar-mills; and in ſhort, Tabago then ſeemed in a condition to rival the moſt flouriſhing of the Engliſh Weſt-Indian ſettlements.

About the year 1664 the duke of Courland being reſtored to his liberty, applied to Charles II. of England, who granted him, on certain conditions, the iſland of Tabago; and in the Dutch wars, which ſoon after ſucceeded, the Dutch were diſpoſſeſſed and after reinſtated in it by the French governor of Grenada. After the Peace the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of the iſland; but in 1677 the French reduced it, and utterly deſtroyed the Dutch colony upon it. About the year 1682, the duke of Courland covenanted with one captain John Poyntz for ſettling 120,000 acres of land with Engliſh and Courlanders.

But upon the extinction of the dukes of Courland, the fief of the iſland of Tabago reverted to the crown of England in 1737, and our government aſſerted its right to it. The Dutch, however, revived their claim to the iſland, and even ſuffered their Weſt-India company to grant to one of

their ſubjects a commiſſion for the government of Tabago. As to the court of France, its conduct was unaccountable to abſurdity; for though by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Tabago was one of the four iſlands that were declared to be neutral, yet the marquis de Caylus, then governor of the French iſlands, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even ſent troops and men to fortify and ſettle it. The governor of Barbados receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, ſent captain, now admiral, Tyrrel, in his majeſty's ſhip the Cheſterfield, to oppoſe ſo manifeſt a violation of all good faith; while the duke of Bedford, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, and the earl of Albemarle the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, made ſuch ſtrenuous remonſtrances on the ſame head, that the French court diſavowed the proceedings of de Caylus, whom they ordered home, and commanded their ſettlement of the iſland to be diſcontinued. In this ſtate it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at Paris, by its ninth article gave Tabago in full right to Great-Britain, after which the government of it was beſtowed upon colonel Melvil.

The reader will eaſily perceive from the various conteſts which it has occaſioned, that it muſt in itſelf be of uncommon value, which renders it the more neceſſary for us to give a deſcription of its natural and other advantages. A few Indians, while it was in its ſtate of neutrality, were its only ſettled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the ſea-coaſt, towards the northern extremity of the iſland. Thoſe Indians are by nature far more tractable than the other Carribbeans; and tho' they are diſtractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very paſſion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a Britiſh government. A ſhort time, and good uſage, will reconcile them to the more poliſhed habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utenſils, a few preſents of that kind might in time render them extremely ſerviceable to the firſt Britiſh planters of the iſland. The climate of Tabago is far more temperate than could be expected in an iſland that is but 11 degrees 10 minutes north from the equator; for the force of the ſun is diminiſhed by the ſea-breezes. The Dutch, when they firſt ſettled the iſland, thought it was unwholeſome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its ſalubrity increaſed, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the ſpice and gum-trees, with which the ſoil every where abounds. Tabago has another favourable circumſtance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of thoſe hurricanes that prove ſo fatal

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to the other Weſt-India iſlands; and conſequently, it is not liable to thoſe blaſts that ſometimes deſtroy the moſt promiſing harveſts upon them.

The ſurface of the iſland is unequal, and agreeably diverſified with riſings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impaſſable, though its northweſt extremity is mountainous. Its ſoil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing, in the greateſt plenty, whatever is raiſed in other parts of the Weſt-Indies. The abundance of ſprings upon the iſland contributes to its healthfulneſs, and its bays and creeks are ſo diſpoſed as to be very commodious for all kinds of ſhipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its ſituation requires fortifications to render the iſland ſecure againſt the viſits of ſavages and enemies. This is a moſt important conſideration for the government of Great-Britain, as, without ſuch fortifications, the natural richneſs of the iſland ſerves but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on Tabago, is, perhaps, the greateſt riches; for, beſides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in the other Weſt-Indian iſlands, the Dutch affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon this iſland. Tho' the Dutch can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be deceived in the natural properties of thoſe trees, which they acknowledge to be different in ſome reſpects from thoſe in their Eaſt-Indies, and their other Aſiatic plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of Tabago, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the Eaſt-Indies. Though the lattter is the moſt probable opinion, yet as the fact itſelf, which is undiſputed, evinces, that thoſe rich ſpices may be cultivated upon the iſland, it renders it an object highly deſerving the attention of the public; eſpecially, as ſugar itſelf was imported into the Weſt-Indies from Europe; and the ſame may be ſaid of other commodities that are now become ſtaple ones in America.

Mr. Blome, who in the year 1687, wrote the preſent ſtate of our American iſlands, ſays, that the ſoil naturally produces Indian corn, ſuch as grows in Virginia, New-York, and Carolina; but that no Engliſh grain, excepting peas, beans, and pulſe, can be raiſed there; and that the iſland produces Guinea corn, French beans, and various kinds of peas. He mentions the cuſhen apple, which, he ſays, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rind when green. The fig-trees upon Tabago are

reckoned equal to thoſe in Spain and Portugal. The prickle-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the pine-apple, and ſeveral other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are ſaid, by our author, to be of three kinds, or rather to ſerve three purpoſes, the ſour or bitter one for ſauce, their flowers for eſſences, and their ſweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons and limes of both kinds, *viz.* ſour and ſweet, are found in plenty upon this iſland; and the marmalade, which is made made of its guavas, yields to none. Plantanes, that food which is ſo uſeful in ſupporting the negroes, to whom it is agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind; as do tamarinds, though the iſland produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluſter, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here; though it is very probable, that a little culture and perſeverance might raiſe wine equal to any in Europe. The cuſtard-apple, the ſour-apple, the papaw-apple, the mamme-apple, and the yellow plum are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the iſland are but indifferent. The cocoa-nut-tree grows here to ſuch perfection, that the Indians call it GOD's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Muſk, cucumbers, and water-melons thrive here, as do pompkins and gourds. The inhabitants make uſe of potatoes as bread. They likewiſe have yams, carrots, turnips, parſnips, onions, and caſſada-root. The author laſt quoted, though he wrote almoſt fourſcore years ago, bears an ample teſtimony of all that is ſaid at preſent in favour of this iſland; for he tells us, that beſides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different ſorts of pepper, the long, the cod, the bell, the round, and the Jamaica; all which grow upon the iſland, without culture. Notwithſtanding this, we cannot think that thoſe are natives of Tabago; but they ſufficiently prove, that all the products of the Eaſt-Indies may be cultivated there.

According to the ſame author, wild hogs abounded ſo much upon Tabago, that the people cut off at leaſt 20,000 of them every year, without their being ſenſibly diminiſhed. The pickery of Tabago reſembles a hog, and it contains numbers of armadilloes, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; Indian-conies, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horſes, cows, aſſes, ſheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the Dutch, and their breeds are ſtill to be found upon the iſland. Its ſhores are ſtored with excellent fiſh, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a moſt delicious taſte, with

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other kinds unknown in England. In ſhort, no iſland, perhaps, in the world, can boaſt of ſuch variety of fiſhes, both ſhell and others, as Tabago can; ſo that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The ſame may be ſaid of their fowl, and, according to the above author, "commodities which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, ſugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, ſarſaparilla, ſemper-vivum, bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balſam, balm, ſilk-graſs, green tar, ſoap-earth, with many curious ſhells, ſtones, markaſites, and minerals, found up and down the iſland of Tabago, whoſe virtue and worth are yet unknown."

An ACCOUNT of SENEGAL on the coaſt of AFRICA, ceded to GREAT-BRITAIN by the late PEACE.

THE iſland of Senegal is ſituated about three leagues within the mouth of the river of that name. Although it is ſomething leſs than three Engliſh miles in length, but little more than four hundred yards broad, and the whole of it hardly any thing elſe but a kind of white ſand bank, yet the director general for the French Eaſt-India company reſided there, though the principal warehouſe of that company was a pretty deal higher up the river at Podar.

The moſt important production of Senegal is the gum ſo called, of which great conſumption is made in the proceſs of ſeveral manufactures here in England, particularly that of printed linens, which has ſo increaſed of late years as to raiſe that drug to a very high price. It much reſembles gum arabic in many reſpects, but generally comes in much larger drops, uſually of an oval form, ſome of the bigneſs of a ſmall egg, and others yet larger: Their ſurface is rough and wrinkled: It is a very hard, but not a tough gum, conſiderably heavy, and of a very fine and even inward texture. When broken it is found to be of a pale brown colour. It has no ſmell and but little taſte. If held in the mouth it will melt, though ſlowly, and is entirely diſſolvable in water, but not at all in oils or ſpirits. The French had it from the country people, who collect it on both ſides of the river, partly for merchandize, and partly for their own uſe. They diſſolve it in milk, and in that ſtate make it a principal ingredient in many of their diſhes, and often feed on it thus alone. It is yet uncertain from what tree this gum is produced.

The natives of Senegal are of a deep copper complexion, of an extreme lazy diſpoſition, and, on that account miſerably poor

poor, yet endowed with a wonderful docility when ſtrangers take pains to inſtruct them.

The hotteſt ſummers in Europe would be winters in Senegal; all is a burning ſand, abounding in many places with tygers, crocadiles, and huge venemous ſerpents, ſome of them from forty to fifty feet long.

The nights are amazingly ſerene, and the ſtars ſhine with a vivacity to which the Europeans are altogether ſtrangers. The inhabitants, as ſurprizing as it may ſeem, are well acquainted with thoſe cluſters of ſtars which form the principal conſtellations, called the Lion, the Scorpion, the Eagle, Pegaſus, Orion, &c. to which they have given names that have no manner of relation to thoſe of the ancient Greeks and Arabians, ſtill retained by our modern aſtronomers. "This one conſideration, ſays our author, may ſerve as a ſtrong argument of the truth of Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem whereon his chronology is principally founded. For why may not Chiron, the Argonaut, be allowed to form as good notions of aſteriſms to the ſphere, and aſſign them names, as theſe poor Africans, born in barbarity, and bred up in ignorance, without the leaſt inducement to ſtudy or ſpeculation?"

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